

Yerba Buena Center

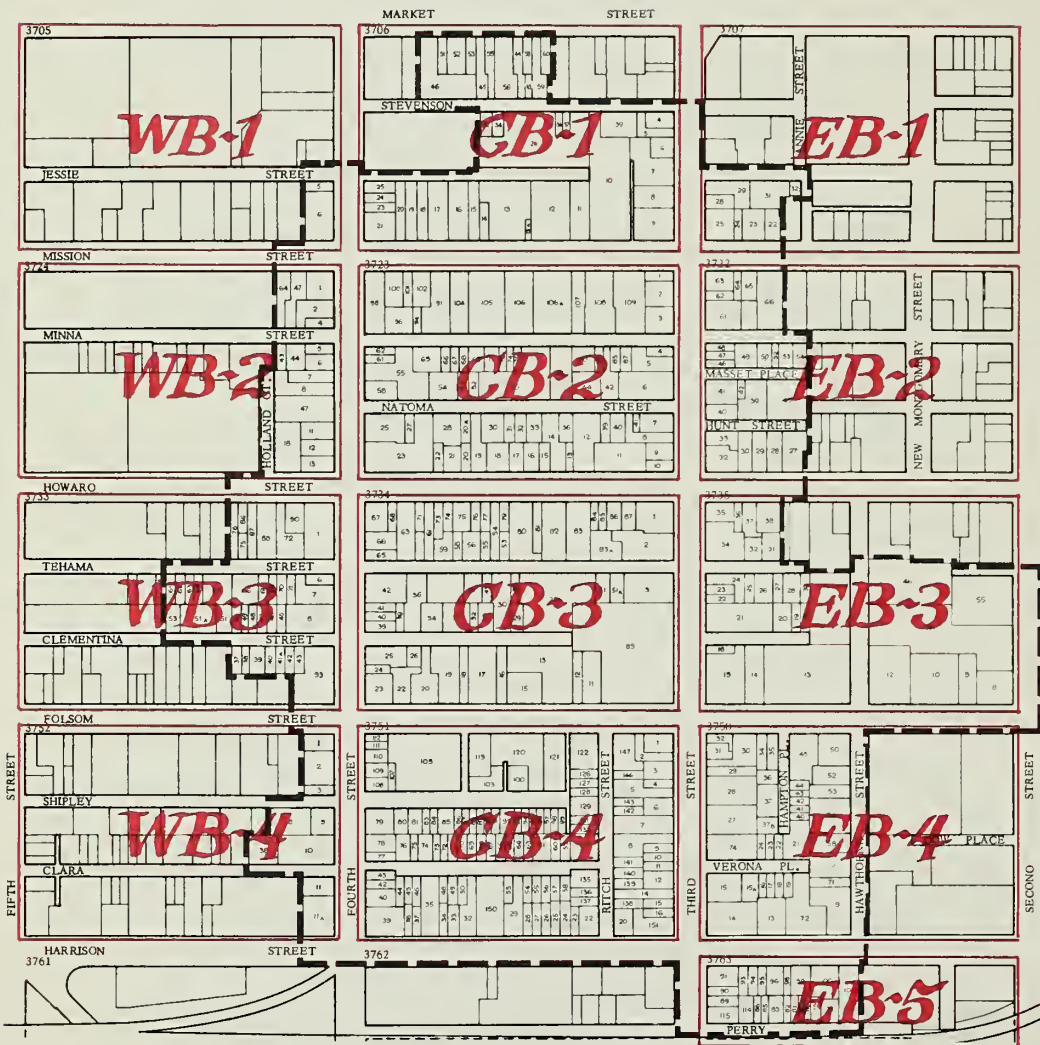
Report on
Historical
Cultural
Resources

San Francisco Redevelopment Agency

YERBA BUENA CENTER

REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT AREA D-1

PROJECT AREA BOUNDARIES



Cover photo: A policeman's funeral at Mission and Third 1886.

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JULY 1971



- PROJECT AREA BOUNDARY
- 3700 ASSESSOR'S BLOCK NUMBER
- LOT NUMBER

Block Codes ~ WB-1, CB-2, EB-3, etc... refer to "Western Block 1," "Central Block 2," "Eastern Block 3," as used for location designators in this study.

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THE YERBA BUENA CENTER
Report on Historical Cultural Resources

Prepared for the
SAN FRANCISCO REDEVELOPMENT AGENCY



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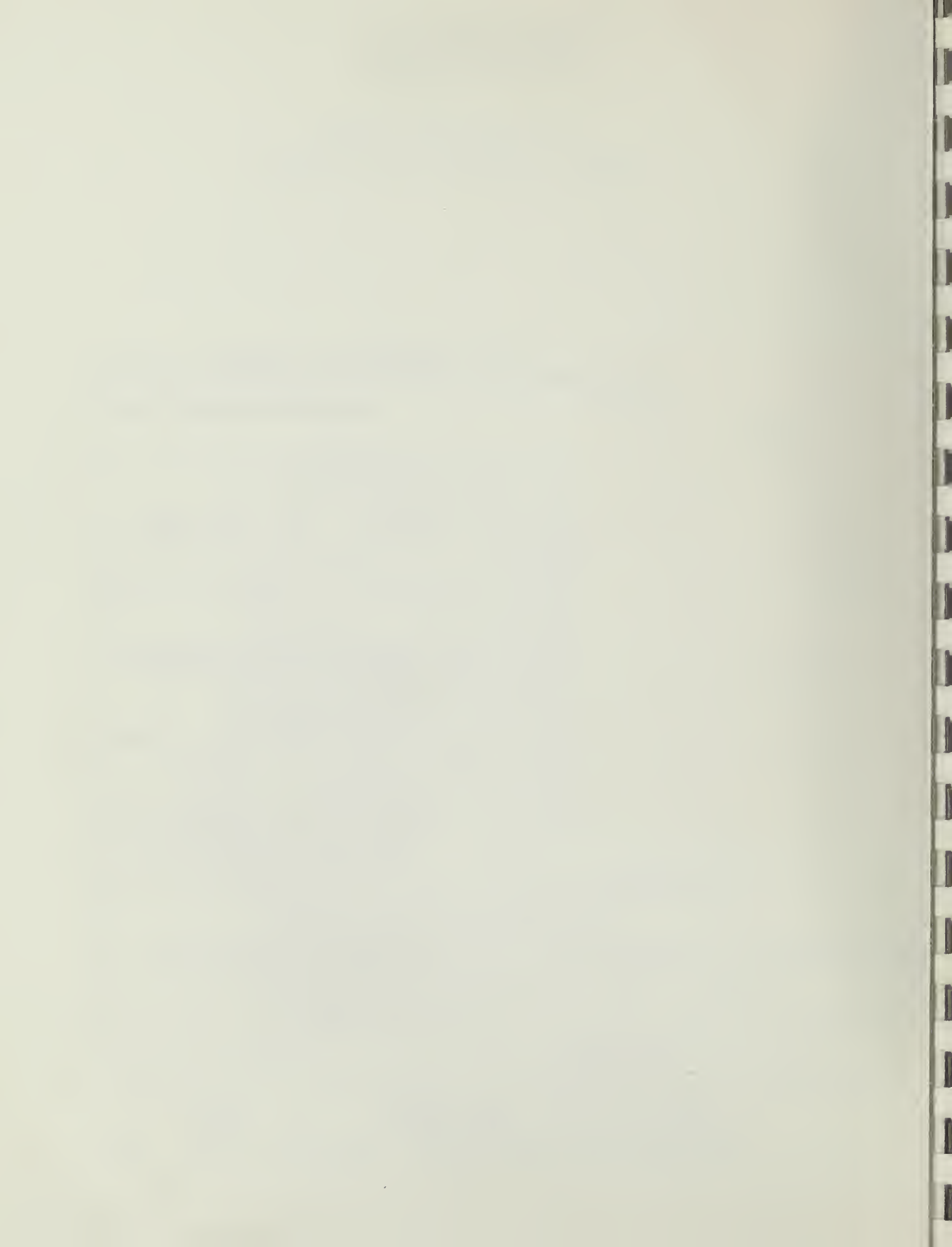
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THE YERBA BUENA CENTER SITE

The area of this study comprises the Yerba Buena Center Redevelopment Project, which includes all or parts of 13 blocks from Market Street to Perry Street, just south of Harrison, and from Second Street to west of Fourth Street. The irregular boundary of the Project Area does not lend itself to simple verbal description; the map on the inside front cover shows the outline and streets, together with the block designations that are used for reference in the following survey of potential archaeological cultural resources.

The topography of the site is almost level, sloping gently downward toward the southwest, with the exception the moderately rising ground on the portion of Rincon Hill in the area of Folsom and Harrison streets east of Third Street. About two-thirds of the 87-acre site consists of vacant lots or parking lots, but there are a substantial number of very recently-constructed buildings, old buildings that have been or will be rehabilitated for historical or economic reasons (or both), and buildings that are either slated for early demolition or would appear to have rather uncertain life expectancy.

The description and history of extant buildings is not within the scope of this study of potential archaeological resources, but extant structures are, of course, relevant to practical considerations of development impact on archaeological resources. Again, the number of buildings of the several classes mentioned on this large site is so great that verbal summary would be far too lengthy. The 1977 Aerial Survey Set, located

near the end of this volume, shows the precise location of extant buildings (updated with the outline of a couple of buildings constructed since 1977).

The complete historical archival study of the Yerba Buena Center site includes the 1977 study of the Convention Center Block (Central Block 3) and the 1979 study of Eastern Block 3 by the same historical-archaeological research group. Only a small part of the detailed information contained in the previous site studies is repeated in this final volume, and the three reports together constitute the entire archival study, archaeological analysis, and recommendations for the Yerba Buena Center.

INTRODUCTION

This Draft Report on Historical Cultural Resources of the Yerba Buena Center is part of an intensive archival survey undertaken in accordance with a Memorandum of Agreement between the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the California State Historic Preservation Officer, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The Agreement stipulates that the archival study is "to identify specific locations having a potential for finding important archaeological materials." A detailed description of the scope of this study is found below under "Scope, Objective, and Method," but it will here be noted that final recommendations for any field-testing program that may be required to physically ascertain the existence and importance of archaeological materials is by the terms of the Agreement a phase beyond the stated purpose of this Report. However, as competent archaeological analysis of the archival data is a necessary phase in the identification of specific locations "having a potential for finding important archaeological materials," and as such analysis is developed in the real context of familiarity with the site and its historical development, we have, at the direction of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, proceeded to the logical step of including preliminary recommendations for field testing where such procedures appear to be indicated as the result of archival analysis.

Such preliminary recommendations may serve as a useful framework or reference point for further expert analysis of whatever detailed procedures may be required in order to reach determinations of National Register eligibility of specific sites or to protect potential archaeological values.

The Memorandum of Agreement seeks to cover the various eventualities arising from the data-gathering, interpretation, decisionmaking and final site-development programs. But it is of course the nature of an ongoing process involving accumulation of information on the one hand, and physical actions and requirements on the other, for alteration of perception and actual physical conditions to occur in frequently unanticipated fashion. The development of a thoroughly satisfactory cultural resources-management program for a potentially archaeologically sensitive urban area as large as the Yerba Buena Center, an area that will be developed parcel by parcel over a period of years, pushes to the limits (or beyond) the available experience in a comparatively new and rapidly developing discipline.

At the present time, each program of the size or complexity of the Yerba Buena Center is (whether it wishes to be or not) a test of the adequacy of procedures as mandated by Public Law, Executive Order, and Federal Regulations. At the same time each program, so mandated, is a test of the cost-effectiveness relative to requirements and results.

The statement above that the Yerba Buena Center as a whole is archaeologically sensitive is not based solely on the following archival study and evaluation of the potential cultural resources on the 12 blocks (or partial blocks) of the Yerba Buena site, so much as on the direct experience gained through archival study, field testing, construction monitoring, gathering of physical data, salvage, and identification programs covering the Moscone Convention Center site, and the archival study completed on the adjacent Eastern Block 3--"the Edge of Rincon Hill."

An archival study analysis of archaeological potential, and recommendations for field testing for Central Block 3, appeared as **The Yerba Buena Convention Center: Report on Historical Cultural Resources** in November, 1977, and was prepared by the same principals as in the case of the current study (Olmsted, Olmsted, and Pastron). Dr. Allen Pastron was subsequently Principal Investigator in charge of the recommended field-testing program, and the follow-up monitoring program overseeing the construction excavation of the entire CB-3 down to a depth of more than 30 feet. **The Yerba Buena Center: Pre-Archaeological Testing Program**, by Dr. Pastron, contains the description, and a catalogue of artifacts recovered from the several test sites together with a

supplementary, intensive, site-specific archival follow-up study by Olmsted and Olmsted, of one of the predicted sites of archaeological deposits (at the corner of Third and Folsom streets) that yielded test results sufficient to warrant full archaeological examination of the parcel. Further discussion of the details and implications of the Convention Center Block program experience will be discussed later as they relate to the potential of the larger site. The final report on the Convention Center program is in progress at this time.

The Convention Center Block study of November, 1977, was produced under substantial time pressure, and data-gathering and salvage procedures were conducted under construction progress pressures. Such circumstances are not ideal in an overall cultural resource-management program, but very extensive experience with large-scale excavation projects by the same historical and archaeological team in the huge Wastewater Management Program, as well as the Convention Center, have at least had the benefit of providing experience in coping with the problem of establishing adequate, effective, and at least reasonably flexible program methodology. The timing of cultural resource programs sometimes runs up against the practical realities of approval of construction plans or even their actual commencement, or plan changes that represent large public expenditures and real public pressures.

Federal regulation governing historic preservation (36 CFR 800) vigorously suggests, "At the earliest stage of planning or consideration of a proposed undertaking,, including comprehensive or area-wide planning in which provision may be made for an undertaking or an undertaking may be proposed, the Agency Official shall take the following steps to comply with the requirements of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. . . . As early as possible and in all cases prior to agency decision concerning an undertaking, the Agency Official shall identify properties located within the area of the undertaking's potential environmental impact that are included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register . . ." (36 CFR 880.4).

The determination of **significance** of cultural resources is a matter for serious and thoughtful concern. Wirth Associates in preparing a Cultural Resources Overview and Inventory for the Pacific Gas and Electric Company as part of their Potrero 7 project has produced from many

sources a document regarding significance that bears study:

There can be no universal or absolute measures of worth for judging cultural resources. With the ongoing evolution of archaeological methods and theories, new concepts for the evaluation of cultural resources will continue to arise. New data may be extracted from previously studied resources. The current status of archaeology (historic and prehistoric), however, necessitates and often requires the assessment of significance. As criteria for evaluation, historical, scientific, public, ethnic and legal aspects are commonly identified.

1. Historical significance of cultural resources is contingent upon the potential for identification and reconstruction of specific cultures, periods, lifeways, and events. Such resources are significant if they provide a well-preserved or typical representation of a category of human activity, prehistoric cultural or historic tribe, or if they can be associated with a specific event or aspect of history.
2. Scientific significance depends on the potential use of cultural resources to establish reliable generalizations concerning past societies and cultures.
3. Public (or social) significance is considered on the basis of indirect and direct means by which the public may benefit from the preservation and study of cultural resources. These resources vary in capacity to provide educational devices, ethnic identification, economic benefits, recreation facilities, as well as maintenance of public goodwill. Public significance should be based on the degree to which the cultural resources lend themselves to display and restoration.
4. Ethnic significance is the religious, mythological, social, or other special importance placed on cultural resources by ethnic groups. Resources often vary in significance and must be determined by consultation with representatives of ethnic groups.
5. Legal significance is determined by the criteria set forth at the federal level by the Historic Site Preservation Act of 1966 as amended in 1976 and as implemented in part by Executive Order 11593, the National Environmental Policy Act of 1974. These regulations "form the basis of compliance actions and professional input."

In developing these guidelines, Wirth Associates credited numerous scholars and writers in a variety of disciplines; among them were: Clark 1970; Scovill, Gordon and Anderson 1972; Moratto 1975; Moratto and Kelly

1976; Glassow 1977; Schiffer and House 1977; Schiffer and Gumerman 1977. These guidelines (republished by the California State Energy Commission, August 6, 1979) first appeared in the Wirth report on pages 8 and 9 of **Potrero 7: Phase I Cultural Resources Overview and Inventory**, March, 1979.

In reviewing this cultural-resource survey for the Yerba Buena Center it is important to keep these guidelines in mind. For example the historical significance of the immigrant workingman's culture in the 1870's and '80's in the South of Market became a matter of prime interest, as their letters and diaries and journals revealed hitherto unknown aspects of their poverty, their values, and their struggles for existence. The repeated, but varied, patterns of South of Market poverty set against the background of San Francisco land speculation raises both philosophical and historical questions.

Previous Archival Studies and Archaeological Testing and Recovery Programs on the Yerba Buena Center Site

The **Report on Historical Cultural Resources on the Yerba Buena Convention Center** site was completed on November 4, 1977. It was intended to concentrate on the block bounded by Howard and Folsom, Third and Fourth streets--the Moscone Convention Center Block. The study was undertaken "in the interests of determining the potential cultural resources that might exist on the present site. . . . The purpose of the archival study includes reasonable definition of specific areas within this 10-acre site" (Olmsted, Olmsted, and Pastron 1977: 7). The highest research priority was given to the Golden Rush period, and included investigation on two levels: "1) the specific nature and development of the Convention Center Block from the standpoint of the site, structures occupying it at various times, and the use of these structures, particularly as they might relate to the possibility of cultural remains; 2) the more general description of activity in the neighborhood, again with the particular interest of suggesting the type of cultural remains that might exist or have at one time existed, as well as with the interest of establishing a historical

framework within which material discovered in the course of any archaeological testing or monitoring program may be interpreted."

These objectives were met in that the predicted presence of a Gold Rush structure on the northwest corner of Third and Folsom was revealed by preconstruction testing and a larger test excavation. Further research revealed that the site, dating from about 1859 (perhaps earlier), was Frank's Market, belonging to August and Frank Franks. By 1865, Samuel and Josiah Coggeshall and Dennis Hunt ran a drugstore on the site, with lodgers upstairs who included a music teacher, Miles Samuel Helmers, from Sweden, Albert Coles, a conductor on the Omnibus Line, and Thomas Anthony Lynch, a notary from New York. From San Francisco archives it was possible to reconstruct the social structure of the area south of the south wall of the Omnibus Stable on Third Street. The results of the preconstruction archaeological testing program for this site have been published by Dr. Allan Pastron (**Yerba Buena Convention Center: Pre-Construction Archaeological Testing Program**, n.d.).

In a broader sense, the archival study of the Convention Center Block aimed at an archaeological testing and monitoring program that would reveal the texture, diversity, and density of artifacts on the one block. Realizing that the area had been devastated by the 1906 earthquake and fire, it was not possible to predict in advance what the condition of pre-1906 artifacts might be. At the same time, it was recognized that one block of the Yerba Buena Center was not entirely like other blocks in terms of topography or social uses. Indeed the socio-economic differences of the residents on Rincon Hill as contrasted with those who lived on Tehama and Clementina were obvious from early views and prior knowledge.

The Convention Center Block survey was completed in six weeks, not allowing time to assemble and analyze the raw data of U.S. Census sheets. However, it was possible to partially reconstruct the social class and ethnic background of the people who lived on the Convention Center Block in the 1860's by use of **The Great Register of San Francisco for the Year 1868**. It was possible to check voter registration against the city directories for 1865 through 1875 to get a clearer picture of the mix of people who lived there. Of the 205 men listed in the Great

Register who were also listed in the city directories of the time, roughly half gave the eastern shores of the United States as their place of origin. The next-largest ethnic group were the Irish, and the third-largest group were German immigrants. Again this pattern was repeated by evidence from the 1860 census in the larger study.

A pattern of mini-neighborhoods within the one block of the Yerba Buena Center emerged on the Central Block 3 that persisted through the larger study; that is, working-class neighborhoods on the narrow back streets, such as Clementina and Tehama, and the middle-class neighborhoods (sharing a backyard fence with their neighbors, the workingmen) lining the broader streets of Folsom and Howard.

Archaeological Progress Report on the Convention Center Block: Archaeological work conducted on CB-3 during 1978 and early 1979 has proved its usefulness—both in producing a rich yield of data, and in pointing to the most productive methods for future testing in other blocks in the YBC redevelopment area. At the time of this writing, cataloging of the CB-3 (Convention Center site) artifacts has been completed. Thus the data from the block are still in the raw state—catalog sheets, field notes, and photographs. Preparations have been concluded with the city of San Francisco to carry out an analysis of these data, and to present the results in a final report. Even though work is still at the interim stage, and general conclusions are yet premature, it is possible to make a few cautious summary statements on the basis of the fieldwork experience and the cataloging operations carried out for CB-3.

CB-3 allowed an empirical test of much of the data and projections presented in the historical survey (Olmsted, Olmsted and Pastron, 1977) carried out prior to ground breaking. On the basis of archaeological finds, it is clear that the Coast Survey maps of 1852 and 1857 are reliable and accurate guides to the placement of Gold Rush period structures. Plotting their contour lines against modern grades, we have verified our ability to predict—within a foot or two—the depth of buried features, or the likelihood that they have been destroyed through the excavation of later basements. During the course of the fieldwork, a refined and effective methodology was developed, as well, for locating and recovering the

remains of privy vaults and backyard trash dumps. Thus, on the basis of the work at CB-3, we are able to place a high degree of confidence in the levels of archaeological probability put forth for the blocks covered in this volume.

CB-3 also provided huge amounts of data documenting the nature and extent of the 1906 earthquake and fire, as visible in the archaeological record. Although this major event in the city's history left its mark across almost all the city east of Van Ness Avenue, to our knowledge, a careful archaeological study of this unmistakable stratigraphic feature has never been published. Results from CB-3 enable us to remedy that lack, as well as to increase our sophistication in interpreting earthquake and pre-earthquake strata on other blocks.

Work on CB-3 has assured us of the likelihood of encountering several sorts of features on the rest of the blocks slated for redevelopment. Most important among these sorts of features are (1) privy vaults, (2) backyard trash dumps, (3) structural remains of above-ground structures. The first two of these have proved to be the most productive sources of artifacts. The discovery of an outbuilding, not shown on any city map portraying CB-3, illustrates the possibilities of unexpected finds of structural features on blocks in the YBC site.

In the case of most outhouses, judicious use of map data, particularly the 1887 Sanborn maps, or the 1857 Coast Survey, coupled with information from city directories, censuses, etc., allows us to determine the owners and users of the privies in question. Although the data have not yet been analyzed in any depth, it is abundantly clear that privy fill varies greatly, depending upon the social and economic status of the users, and probably according to ethnicity as well. The artifact yield from the outhouse designated as Feature 11, for example, leaves no doubt as to the comfortable affluence of the residents. Quantities of gilt-decorated china from a set are found, along with crystal wine glasses and tumblers made of red glass (the most expensive to produce). The more humble occupants of 240 Third Street (Feature 3) seem to have used the heavier, white "Ironstone" ware commonly imported from England during the late 19th century. From the systematic analysis of this sort of data (toys, pipes, and many other classes of artifacts in daily use are abundant as

well), we shall be able to paint in fine strokes some of the details of the daily lives of working class people and well-to-do merchants alike, and perhaps to isolate some of the preferences and brands of food and drink associated with various ethnic groups resident in the South of Market area.

Feature 10, the outbuilding referred to above, was encountered during excavation for construction, and proved to be the remains of a long, oddly shaped building (12 x 33), which through its relationship to foundations of neighboring buildings can be dated to the period between 1857 and 1887. Its lifespan was such that it fell between any mappings which have come down to us. Although not in itself a sensational find, Feature 10 pointed out the possibility of the existence of unexpected, and possibly quite important, cultural resources, unforeseeable in spite of the most intensive archival research. The possibility of short-lived structures, built and abandoned in the years between 1852 and 1857, for example, cannot be ruled out, nor can structures from the early '60's.

Thus, while definitive conclusions concerning the archaeology of CB-3 must await the careful analysis to be summed up in the final report, it is clear that the block yielded a rich harvest of diverse sorts of data. Moreover, work on CB-3 suggests the potential of many other sites on other blocks, some of which are discussed in this volume.

The Edge of Rincon Hill--Eastern Block 3: At the request of the Redevelopment Agency, it became necessary to issue a separate draft study on Eastern Block 3, in advance of the larger Yerba Buena Study, in May of 1979. A draft report was prepared as part of the intensive archival survey undertaken in accordance with the Memorandum of Agreement between the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the California State Historic Preservation Officer, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Again, the agreement stipulated that the archival study was "to identify specific locations having a potential for finding important archaeological materials" (Olmsted, Olmsted, and Pastron, May 22, 1979: 5).

Four general categories of objectives guided the research on Eastern Block 3. 1) The study on the Convention Center Block (1977), together with the field observations and field-testing experience provided a strong

base for comparison of similarities and differences in both historical development and potential archaeological resources. 2) To locate potential archaeological sites in the following order of priority: a) Prehistoric, Spanish, or Early American; b) Gold Rush sites as defined by the period from 1849 through 1857; c) to relate structures erected in the 1860's and '70's to the 1887 Sanborn Map and to identify and describe the types of activity associated with these structures--giving particular priority to sites that might give us additional knowledge of the working-class people from the first American habitation up through the Great Depression. 3) Having located these potential sites, both geographically and in time, to further describe any ensuing impact on these sites that would in effect have destroyed them. These impacts included analysis of: a) the natural topography as illustrated on the early Coast Survey charts and related to the earliest views of the site, correlated with later grade levels (since the leveling of the sandhills and the filling and cutting in this area were both early and continuous, their potential impact on any archaeological site was a determinative factor); b) the potential impact of excavations on the site carried out through the decades in the form of basement excavations; c) the potential impact of the earthquake and fire of 1906 on EB-3.

The fourth objective was to study the sociological and political and structural effects of the Second Street Cut of 1869 (as EB-3 was the only block directly concerned with Second Street in the Yerba Buena site). Beyond that, there was an effort to further examine the effect of the Workingmen's Party and the findings of Neil Shumsky (1966), with relationship to the very poor South of Market area, and the wealthier residents of Rincon Hill.

To a large degree the population on Eastern Block 3 was an extension of the Convention Center Block (CB-3) in terms of social classes of the neighborhoods, but the socio-economic extremes were greater. The mansions and comfortable homes of the rich and upper-middle class spilled down the slopes of Rincon Hill into the working-class neighborhoods that we associate with the Convention Center Block findings. But this study had the added benefit of the data from the 1860 Census, so that it became possible to define the entire family structure including occupations,

places of origin, number and age of children (giving valuable clues as to the date of immigration to California), as well as all of the above information on servants, lodgers, and fellow family members. With the aid of the city directories it was possible to follow families through time and see the mobility of the family in terms of occupation and residence, as well as observe changes in family structure.

Among the unexpected finds were houses of unrelated black families living together, of Chinese wash houses with living quarters next door to the supposedly anti-Chinese out-of-work Irish. Still another finding was that the mansions of the very rich on Rincon Hill were not quickly deserted by the upper classes after the 1869 cut. The very rich had already started an early migration to the San Francisco suburbs, long before Second Street was demolished, and these summer homes became palatial estates by the 1870's and '80's. But their Rincon Hill addresses were still occupied by people who shared their values--their former spouses, their children and grandchildren, and other extended families of a professional class. These large Rincon Hill homes did not become rooming houses until the mid-1880's or 1890's, and then they tended to attract a Bohemian community, described in the **Edge of Rincon Hill--Eastern Block 3**.

A preconstruction testing program was recommended for Eastern Block 3 that may be found fully described on pages 161 through 178 of that study. Copies of this draft report have been placed in libraries for research purposes.

Chapter I

SCOPE, OBJECTIVES, AND METHOD

This study of the history and potential archaeological cultural resources of the Yerba Buena Center Redevelopment Area deals with the entire 87-acre site, with the exception of the Moscone Convention Center Block (bounded by Howard, Folsom, Third and Fourth streets) and the block bounded by Howard, Folsom, Second and Third streets (designated in the Environmental Impact Report as Eastern Block 3). The Convention Center site was studied in a separate report in 1977, and the **Edge of Rincon Hill--Eastern Block 3**, was presented in May, 1979, as a separate portion of this overall study.

Throughout this report, the block designations used in the EIR will be employed as convenient reference terms. This logical coding identifies the tiers of eastern blocks, central blocks, and western blocks, numbered by block from Market Street through Harrison Street. (Thus, Central Block 1 is the block bounded by Market, Mission, Third and Fourth, and Central Block 4 is the block bounded by Folsom, Harrison, Third and Fourth.) Some of these city blocks lie entirely within the Redevelopment Area, some are included only in part, such as Western Block 3. The boundaries and designations are most easily described by the maps in the body of this report; in particular, the block-by-block aerial photographic maps toward the end of this volume show the specific sites and structures as they appeared in 1977.

As described in the Introduction, the archival study has been undertaken for the purpose of "identifying specific locations having a potential for finding important archaeological material." The measure of

importance in this case refers to potential eligibility for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register criteria state: "The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, or objects of State and local importance that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association and . . ." possess one or more of four categories of quality. The category most generally applicable to the type of archaeological site that might be anticipated in the case of the Yerba Buena site is the fourth: one that "may yield information important in prehistory or history." However, any such site might very probably also involve association with the criteria regarding "events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history," or "persons significant in our past."

An example of a significant person who was the catalyst in a significant event on the Yerba Buena Center was the Chinese laundryman, Yick Wo, whose laundry at 349 Third Street had been in continuous operation from 1860 through 1880 when, under the administration of San Francisco's Mayor Washington Bartlett, the anti-Chinese ordinances that had been passed by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors were brought into force. The resulting court cases, which started with Yick Wo appearing before Police Court #2, charged with violation of Order 1569 and Order 1587, traveled all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, where Yick Wo's charge that his civil rights had been violated was vindicated in an historic decision that overruled the California Supreme Court.

The rather broad scope of National Register criteria can be seen in considering some applications of these criteria relevant to possibilities in Yerba Buena Center sites. For instance, the development of the most densely populated European immigrant working-class neighborhood in the American West may be seen as an event, and if so, it certainly was of significance in the broad patterns of our history; again, while "lives of persons significant in our past" would generally have been taken as meaning "famous men" not many years ago, present public as well as academic interpretation would tend toward consideration of identifiable groups of people (however anonymous individually) or even to typical representatives of such groups. However these examples might apply with respect to the

"events" and "persons" criteria, they certainly are involved in our present interpretation of what information is "important in prehistory or history."

To leave aside, for the moment, the question as to what constitutes "important," the practical problem of conducting an archival study regarding potential archaeological resources lies first in seeking to determine what are the apparent limits of physical possibility of deposits from various periods and what are the archival limitations to making such determinations.

In the general context of urban historical archaeology, the archival resource base is apt to be very large, and this is indeed the case with the Yerba Buena Center. It is possible to achieve a very substantial description of the physical development of specific parcels, or groups of parcels, their occupancy, and use, and the nature of structures thereon. Under such conditions, the scope of archival study (in the sense of extent to which the study is carried out "in depth") does not have as some clear limitation the exhaustion of sources which can define ever more clearly the probability or improbability of more and more specific classes of potential resources, but rather some judgment as to where a point of diminishing returns besets the examination. It is probably not possible to determine that point with any great precision prior to advancing quite far into the work, but in any event the depth to which the study is carried should always be adequate to answer the second of the initial questions raised above: What are the actual archival limitations to a history of the site so detailed as to leave no doubt as to exactly what deposits of cultural materials in fact exist?

Carrying initial archival research to at least the point at which the limitations of the sources seem rather clear should serve a larger purpose than enhancing the probability that some notable historical cultural resource will not be overlooked (though that would, of course, be purpose enough). In addition, a clear apprehension of the limitations of historical archival sources as they relate specifically to the locale and the human activities that are associated (sometimes remotely) with it may well determine the question as to the "importance" of the information that can be developed from potential archaeological resources.

It is obviously inappropriate to derive through expensive archaeological excavation information that could be developed more easily or more thoroughly through archival research; alternatively, what might otherwise appear insignificant cultural remains may assume importance when it is known that they add information not available in libraries. For example, archaeological evidence establishing the ethnic mix of the Yerba Buena Center area population around 1860 would appear rather insignificant, for it could be only a fragmentary representation of what can be found in the U.S. Census data; but on the other hand, we must be reduced to unsatisfying scraps of information or surmises from indirect sources if we want such obvious information as some specifics as to the personal consumption preferences of these people. We know the names of the Chinese laundry workers in 1880 at 153 Tehama Street, but we are not sure of their living arrangements on the premises, next door to the O'Neils; the O'Neils had seven children in 13 years, but we do not know what kind of toys the children played with, if any. (Toys are mentioned only as an example of a class of cultural materials that are on the one hand frequently discarded or lost on the site where they were used and on the other hand may prove suggestive as to other characteristics of life-style when analyzed in connection with other information bases.)

While the nature of the information developed in the archival study is of great value in assisting to determine the type of archaeological research questions that may prove most rewarding, the same research often provides accurate prediction of the existence of specific cultural resources. A dramatic example has occurred while this report was being drafted: On the north waterfront of San Francisco, at the Levi's Plaza Development, it was predicted on the basis of intensive archival study that at least one, and perhaps two or more, previously unrecorded Gold Rush hulks were present. The locations were identified with sufficient accuracy that highly selective test-boring sites could be pinpointed. When the first few test borings were sunk in mid-August, 1979, oak samples together with two characteristic treenail ship fastenings were brought up from an appropriate depth. The most extensive and expensive type of random test borings on this large site might have failed to encounter this hulk. The cost of the archival program was much less than the cost of an extensive random field-testing program would have been; even more

important, this significant historical cultural resource was located well in advance of the planned construction program.

As noted in the Introduction, the scope of this report is limited primarily to development of archival material for the purpose of identifying the existence (or nonexistence) of archaeological resources. Rigorous assessment of the significance of potential historical cultural resources identified in the survey is to be accomplished as a further step or second phase. However, the order of research priorities and the very manner of presentation of material constitutes, as it develops, a preliminary assessment, and has led to a preliminary analysis and recommendations.

Research Objectives

The research objectives for the Yerba Buena Center Historical and Archaeological Survey fall into two general categories: the location of specific sites that have a potential (or not) for archaeological field recovery of artifacts that might add to our knowledge of history, and the exploration of historical data that in themselves might lead to a better understanding of people and events that are part of San Francisco's history. These are corollary objectives in the sense that the artifacts and archaeological analysis take on a more sophisticated level depending on the historical context in which they are placed, and it is equally true that the unexpected archaeological find, or perhaps the combination of associated artifacts, may well add to the historical knowledge revealed in limited fashion in the archives. An example of the latter would be the Gold Rush house uncovered on the Convention Center Block that was built **after** the 1852 Coast Survey was made, and burned **before** the 1857 survey was accomplished. The artifacts and data from this early Gold Rush structure may well add to our knowledge in an area where daguerreian views were interrupted by sand hills and early city directories were vague as to residential addresses.

Archaeological Objectives are first accomplished by compiling a geographical history of the site. A study of the site through historical sources defines the topography and the subsequent impacts through change--largely,

technological change. It is an **a priori** step in locating potential archaeological sites to understand the various processes of filling and cutting and physical rearrangement of the site through time, so as to include or exclude areas that have the physical possibility of containing artifacts. This geographical history must be brought up to date by the study of **all** subsequent excavation—especially important in a downtown urban setting, such as the Yerba Buena Center site.

The archaeological research questions should grow out of, but not be limited to, previous archaeological studies on adjoining blocks, such as the Convention Center Block and the Eastern Block 3. As an order of general importance, research priority has been given to those eras in human development about which the **least** historic data is available: 1) Prehistoric (which in the instance of the Yerba Buena Center should receive special priority due to the existence of a recorded prehistoric shellmound just south of Harrison Street); 2) Spanish, Mexican and Early American sites; 3) Gold Rush sites as defined by the period from 1849 through 1857 (and again the presence of such sites on the Moscone Convention Center Block would give this type of site the highest research priority from the standpoint of historic archaeology); 4) The identification of the people and their social patterns that relate to specific structures on the 1887 Sanborn maps—giving special priority to those sites that might give us additional knowledge of the working-class people who occupied most of the Yerba Buena Center from its first American habitation up through the Great Depression; 5) A study of the type of debris and fill that characterizes a major earthquake and fire in a dense urban setting, such as the 1906 disaster south of Market.

Historical Objectives proceeded on two levels. In studying the Yerba Buena Site against the context of our general knowledge about the growth of San Francisco, it was possible to look for overall unifying patterns, or simply recurring patterns of events and people that might lead to a unifying pattern of understanding. The most interesting phenomenon was the purchase of land, the speculation in land, the development schemes that were revealed by maps and by letters and supported by newspaper accounts and revelations. This pattern was in effect with the first

American habitation and continued up through times contemporary with our own. Exploration of specific land transactions was necessary to open up this kind of historic question and relate it to other historians' theories about the growth of San Francisco; i.e., Roger Lotchin's recent study, **San Francisco—1846—1856—From Hamlet to City** (Oxford University Press, 1974).

On another level, it was our objective to obtain as much information as time permitted regarding the views of the participants in the depressions and cataclysms that were part of their own lives. In this objective we were fortunate to obtain letters and diaries and case histories that, while they are limited to individual perceptions, are again valuable as detailed documents of the times because they **do** represent views of individuals who participated in the everyday struggles of life in this crowded and frequently poverty-level neighborhood. If we are aware of a sense of loss, it may be that it is because we have no letters, diaries, or photographs from the women, who, after all, constituted onehalf of the population from the 1860's through the 1880's. Nor do we have the Chinese recollections that would fill the gaps in our understanding of how and why they clung to their precarious existence in a district that gave birth to the slogan, "The Chinese Must Go!"

A General Conclusion and a Large Obligation: Beyond locating potential archaeological sites that would add to our knowledge of the history of San Francisco (as discussed above), there is another reason for covering the history of an area such as the Yerba Buena site in a manner that isolates the mainstream of historic events, as well as the movements of populations and structures. There is a growing feeling that the archival knowledge, brought together in the form of detailed reports that use photographs and views as social documents, and actually relate census material to photographs and back to maps to give a many-faceted view of the people, events, and social changes, in itself becomes a kind of mitigation that keeps all of this knowledge from being lost to anyone but the most esoteric scholars. It seems a legitimate use of local history to bring together such a variety of viewpoints, diaries, case histories, census analysis, letters, and interviews, as well as the more usual perceptive

contemporary historical writings, ranging from such observers as Henry George to "The San Francisco Boss," "Blind Chris" Buckley in an effort add to our total understanding of an era and a setting that is gone. Perhaps the only mitigation for these "lost" cultures will be carefully documented studies of their times. Our own bias perhaps carries over from a too-recent knowledge of the Great Depression to put these times into proper historic perspective, but the letters, diaries, and photographs, give a life to the historical statistics that must be the basis of many of our generalities, and of our ongoing historical questions.

The Method of the Study and Some Conclusions

Because of the nature of the historical surveys, the time available, and the process of developing both information and the archival and field-resource base, the methodology and research emphasis has shifted somewhat from the Reports on Historical Cultural Resources for **The Yerba Buena Convention Center** (November, 1977) to **The Edge of Rincon Hill—Eastern Block 3** (May, 1979) to the present study that encompasses the entire remaining area. To tabulate the major points of our approach to the studies, with indications of commonalities and differences, the following outline may serve as introduction:

I. **Physical Development and Successive Impact:** This and the two previous studies have been based first of all in analysis of historical maps, photographs, and other site-specific information that shows the physical state of individual parcels, as it were, at successive periods. This basic information is of course of the highest importance in suggesting specific locations in which archaeological resources may have existed at one time; it is equally important in determining the physical possibility of such resources still remaining *in situ*. Although the number of maps and views can never be numerous enough to tell us all we want to know, the quantity and reliability of the materials available for such areas in San Francisco as the Yerba Buena Center are much larger than previous researchers have appreciated and very much more comprehensive for the purposes than may be the case in many other cities. The maps

accompanying this report comprise a small part of its bulk and have been somewhat more highly developed as analytical tools than those in the previous reports.

2. **People, Places, and Periods--A Social History:** While the general historical setting is necessarily described in such a study in order to place the history of the area and its people in a relevant context, a particular aim has been to include material that provides a detailed texture to the life-style of at least some of the inhabitants during the several historical periods. This latter effort is in many respects the most rewarding from the standpoint of some contribution both to history and to development of specific research objectives for archaeological field work. The Convention Center Block study provided a general view in some depth of the various types of businesses, households, and activities of a typical block; the Eastern Block 3 report added substantial detail on middle- and upper-middle-class occupants in a part of that area. The present study has offered the opportunity of following up some of the major socio-economic phenomena of the area--such as the impact of the Workingmen's Party movement--but also of including at substantial length the specific experiences of individuals at critical periods in time, as derived from both published and unpublished diaries, letters, and interviews.

3. **Census Data and City Directories:** The large area covered in the current study has both suggested and permitted the intensive use of raw U.S. Census data, supported and developed with the assistance of city directories. This study carries the use of such material much further than the previous reports on the individual blocks. We have not sought, however, to develop elaborate statistical studies, though it would be possible (with sufficient resources) to succeed in doing some revealing and important quantitative study of the type that Neil Shumsky had intended when he began his dissertation "Nob Hill and Tar Flat" (1963). Rather, selective approaches that appeared appropriate to the form of the data have been used, as described below.

Use and Limitations of the 1860 Census: As the 1860 Census was the first that could be correlated with the San Francisco city directories it

was the best source of its kind that could totally encompass the Yerba Buena Center at a period that closely matches the Coast Survey Map of 1857. Therefore, it was decided to acquire the raw 1860 Census data for Ward 10 (which includes the Yerba Buena site) and, as no addresses are given in the 1860 Census, to check out **all** the respondents through the **Langley City Directory** for 1859, 1860, and 1861. In this way, all census respondents **not** in the YBC could effectively be set aside. Cards were made up on all of the Yerba Buena census respondents and these were both filed by street address on the Coast Survey Map of 1857 (when possible) and traced through the city directories to see their general progress in San Francisco at this early date. All in all, 965 respondents who listed occupations (other than "keeping house" or "student") lived within the Yerba Buena Center. A table was prepared and is in the Appendix of this report showing the relationship of ethnic background to occupation in 1860.

However, this was still not satisfactory in giving a total picture of the YBC in 1859-61; so we added many businesses and institutions from the business directories of the same period, and in the process discovered residents that had not been included in the census--perhaps as they had moved away shortly before June of 1860, or moved into the area shortly thereafter. By so doing we were able to prepare a map from an enlargement of the 1857 Coast Survey Chart. By using measurements from the 1887 Sanborn maps of those homes and businesses that persisted, it was felt that we had a very nearly accurate picture of the late Gold Rush population. This proved to be an invaluable tool from an archaeological viewpoint but was also, as far as we know, the first time such a study had been carried out.

One of the unexpected patterns that began to develop from this study was the near-monopoly of German immigrants of the food business in the Yerba Buena Center in 1860. It appeared that every corner grocery and saloon was run by a German immigrant; further analysis showed that 90% of these Germans were born in Hanover. It appeared from their personal assets that they **owned** their property. One would have expected the breweries to be German-owned and run, but to find all but one or

two of the corners in the YBC to have the German equivalent of Mom-and-Pop grocery stores and saloons was not expected. Another unexpected finding from the total analysis of the 1860 YBC population by occupation was the degree of predominance of respondents from New England, New York, and the East Coast. Not only did this group outnumber the other respondents in almost every occupation, but they totally dominated the professional fields of attorney, physician, teacher, banker, and the white-collar jobs of clerk, bookkeeper, and the like. In effect, in 1860 they ran the show in San Francisco.

The limitation of the 1860 Census is that there were no street addresses given, and no uniform pattern of Census enumeration developed. The census enumerator was as likely to start off down Third Street, drop into Hunt Street for a few visits and take off in still another direction. Only when he went totally outside the YBC to South Park or along Bryant or Brannan (at the southern edge of the ward) did a pattern develop. Therefore, it is our conclusion, that if one were investigating a single parcel about which no information existed beyond the street address, the 1860 census would be a poor tool for tracing early residents. In a study such as this one, that covers as much as several blocks, it is well worth the trouble it takes to isolate the area on microfilm, but it is necessary in San Francisco (in Ward 10, at least) to go followrough every name through several city directories to find the streets and locations. The City Directory for 1859 is apt to give an address as vague as "A. Cincinnati Meyer, brewer, north side of Third, near Howard." It is not until 1861 that a majority of respondents gave street numbers that could be verified in spite of later changes or errors.

The Uses and Limitations of the 1880 Census: The census of 1880 is useful for many reasons. Street addresses make it possible to locate almost any San Francisco site, and to find the respondent's name, age, sex, race, whether the person is married, single, widowed, or divorced, where the respondent was born, and where his parents were born, his occupation, months of unemployment during the previous year, and whether he had any debilitating chronic illness. A further advantage of the 1880

census is that such a wide range of material was collected for this great inventory effort that there are many bases for comparison, such as race with occupation, children by occupation, wage scales in various cities, or comparisons between San Francisco and other major cities on a variety of factors. One problem in using the data arises from the fact that San Francisco had grown from 56,835 people in 1860 to 233,959 people by 1880. The very size of this later count makes for sampling techniques rather than studying the definitive whole.

Before undertaking an analysis of 1880 Census data, we conducted a survey to determine the impact of basement excavations throughout the Yerba Buena area. The basement survey involved the following steps:

1. Basements identified on the 1887 Sanborn maps were color-coded. The Sanborn identification of basements on these 1887 maps appears to have been thorough. However, photographs of the period indicate that these basements were very frequently half-basements extending no deeper than 6 to 8 feet.

2. Basement notations on Sanborn maps for 1905, 1912, 1927, and 1948 were color-coded over the 1887 maps.

3. Field examination of present paved parking lots, sidewalks, and existing buildings was undertaken to find evidence of basements not shown on the more modern Sanborn maps, as we had found that Sanborn post-earthquake basement information was inadequate for our purposes.

4. As a final follow-up, the City Permit Office of San Francisco very kindly allowed us to examine all permits for buildings erected from 1907 on, to be able to show any other basement excavations not mentioned on the Sanborn maps. The permit to build almost invariably listed the plan for a basement structure and usually detailed its depth.

What was then produced were Sanborn 1887 maps of the entire Yerba Buena site with all subsequent basements shown, as well as modern buildings that fell into categories of greater or lesser certainty about their future (i.e., the Jesse Street Substation is an historic landmark, the Imperial Hotel is scheduled for demolition). Households were selected from sites that the basement-impact maps showed had the physical possibility of harboring deposits of historical cultural remains. However,

as it was desired that the study of these families, involving intensive directory research as to mobility and family structure through the early 1900's (when possible), should represent a fair cross-section of the Yerba Buena Center 1880 population, an additional completely random sample of 100 residents was checked against the site-selected sample from which the study group was drawn. This was to insure that some unperceived factor associated with selection on the basis of the impact of subsequent buildings had not skewed the sample. Comparison showed no differences in the general character of the groups.

In addition to the use of the census data correlated with the map data, we added a further study of the 1852 Coast Survey Map contours and those of 1857. Here it was found that in a number of areas, it would appear that the remains of structures from the 1850's may be buried beneath shallow (6 to 8 feet) and sometimes even deep (12 to 14 feet) basement levels. A further discussion of this situation follows in the section describing these two contour maps of the Gold Rush era and in the archaeological recommendations.

Further Sources: It had been our purpose to find letters and diaries of people who lived in the Yerba Buena Center at various times in history and to use these documents as primary sources. We were fortunate in securing fragments of a diary written by Frank Roney, an active member of the Workingmen's Party and a literate observer of the turbulent 1870's when he struggled to keep his small family alive and together in San Francisco's crowded South of Market neighborhoods. William Kortum's letters were lent to us by Karl Kortum, the director of the National Maritime Museum at San Francisco, and these were literate eye-witness letters of the South of Market during 1906. Case histories from the **University of California Committee for the Aging** (1928) have been added to give new meaning to the term "transient labor."

A decade later the State Relief Administration produced "The Journal of a Transient" in 1936. The role of participant-observer was taken by a social worker who lived among the homeless men in the Yerba Buena Center and the South of Market area, panhandling for food and

lodging and experiencing the frustrations of these San Francisco poor on a first-hand basis. Despite certain personal biases of the writer, the document is an invaluable source to add to our understanding of the magnitude of the problem of the Great Depression era South of Market.

In addition to all of the above, serious effort was given to analyzing the anti-Chinese ordinances as they related to the many Chinese laundries discovered on every block of the Yerba Buena Center. The relationship of the Workingmen's Party and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was examined more closely. It was found that Yick Wo, whose wash house was on Third Street (in the YBC), took his case to the Supreme Court of the United States and successfully overturned the California decisions against him, thus winning for the Chinese a recognition that the San Francisco Board of Supervisors had discriminated against Orientals in the selective enforcement of ordinances regarding laundry construction. This was a landmark case for the Chinese in their fight against discrimination.

Still another social pattern was better understood by the inclusion of part of the recollections of "Boss" Chris Buckley, who described in 1917 just how he took over the Democratic machine in 1882 and ran it for a decade with the help of his Democratic clubs, largely housed in saloons populated by the Irish. Thus, the gradual takeover by the Irish of both the fire and police departments in San Francisco during this turn-of-the-century era was better understood, as well as why the "South of Market Boys" of the 1920's were still running things that made much of the city work.

A recurrent theme in the explanation of the patterns of growth and development of the city in general and of the South of Market area is the influence of decisions made on the basis of quick economic gain. The "instant city" of the Gold Rush sprang from the land sales of 1847 and developed along the lines of the best interests of those who stood to make the most money. Outright development "schemes" tended to fail or to achieve only marginal success. South of Market the Second Street Cut, for all the deals and manipulation involved, made no fortunes through increased land values and new building; "Montgomery Straight" failed, and New Montgomery was a trifling realization of a vast plan; the Rincon

Hill Regrade, as late as 1919, just died, as had the dramatic Burnham Plan before it. These were "schemes" or "plans," rather than "inevitable" steps along the pathway of progress, largely (probably only) because not quite enough affluent owners were sure of quite enough quick gain through their implementation or expansion. The most promising single line of inquiry that is yet to be followed up by those dealing with the social, economic, or urban developmental history of San Francisco is the study of who owned what and when. This may seem obvious, but the fact is that not even in the case of such a vast and spectacular fraud as the "Peter Smith sales" of 1851-52 has any historian yet identified the purchasers and their connection to progress, politics, land ownership, and vested interest.

As a corollary story, the poverty of the South of Market immigrant, especially after the coming of the railroad in 1869, but on into the more-or-less depressed times that culminated in the Great Depression, is a counterpoint to the grander land schemes recounted in these pages. The tenacity of the human spirit in grinding poverty is as much a part of the South of Market story as any.

Chapter II

THE YERBA BUENA CENTER: HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Prehistoric (to 1775): A prehistoric shellmound was discovered in 1929 during construction of a building immediately to the west of 733 Harrison--across the street from Central Block 4. The original (1852) topography of the southern portion of the Yerba Buena Center, on parts of CB-4 and WB-4, appears to have been the same as that of the shellmound site (identified as 4-SFr-2). Filling and the subsequent impact of some basement excavations still leave a substantial area of physical possibility within which a similar site or sites would be extant--if any such additional sites existed. There are not, however, any presently known prehistoric sites within the Yerba Buena Center boundaries.

While the sand hills that characterized the topography of most of the Yerba Buena Center area appear to have been relatively stable features, a view encompassing several hundred years must introduce the probability of major change in the position of sand hills and hollows. The discovery in 1969 of human skeletal remains, radiocarbon-dated to 4950 \pm 250 years before present, at 75 feet below the surface during the construction of the BART Civic Center Station showed radical change in sea level and shoreline and greatly extended the accepted duration of human habitation of San Francisco.

Spanish and Mexican Periods (1776-1845): From the founding of the Mission and the Presidio in 1776 to the beginnings of the village at Yerba Buena Cove (present-day Portsmouth Square area) in 1835, there was no activity that would regularly or even frequently have brought anyone to the Yerba Buena Center site, which lay far east of the trail between

Mission and the Presidio, as seen on the map executed by Captain Frederick William Beechey in 1828. There is no archival evidence of any use of the land on or near the site prior to the establishment of the village of Yerba Buena, but there are references to excursions during the 1835-1846 period for hunting and picnicking that brought people to or near the site. Cultural remains from this period would be limited to individual items left or lost in a generally unfrequented place.

Early American and Gold Rush (1846-1852): The town of Yerba Buena grew rapidly in population after American acquisition, even before the horde of gold-seekers arrived from the East and from Europe in the last half of 1849 and after. However, there were no structures south of Market Street before 1849, with the possible exception of the buildings belonging to the Bernal rancho in an area far to the south of the Yerba Buena site. In 1850 "Happy Valley," west from the shoreline near First Street, on either side of Mission Street, filled up with tents, then small houses. Shipbuilding and foundries flourished along the shore south and east to Rincon Point. But small industries and residences of both workers and "downtown" merchants did not amount to such intensive development as in the original townsite pushing eastward from Portsmouth Plaza, and they tended to be concentrated along the shoreline and in the valleys between the high sand ridges.

The Coast Survey Map, using survey information of 1852, shows a scattering of small structures, presumably mostly dwellings, that can be partially identified among the sand hills in a daguerreotype of 1852 or '53. Among those structures most clearly seen was Howard's Row--four rather elaborate cottages, prefabricated in the East as were a great many houses in Happy Valley. Howard's Row can be found on the early Coast Survey Map just north of Mission Street and west of Third. The cluster of small dwellings in a hollow north of Howard and east of Third were hidden from the camera by an 80-foot sand hill near Second and Howard streets. From this early view we have a clear idea of the type and size of Happy Valley's first dwellings. Materials associated with these structures may be found depending on the grade levels at the time, and subsequent cutting, filling, or excavation on specific sites.

It will be found that some sites on higher ground were so far graded down during the leveling of the area in the late 1850's and early 1860's that not even materials buried in privies could still be in place; other sites of structures dating from 1852, or earlier, were near to or below the later (and present) grade levels, and cultural materials associated with the structures, as well as parts of the structures themselves, may be extant--unless basement excavations for later buildings obliterated or dispersed such remains. Finally, there are some sites that were in 1852 so far below later and present grade levels that even later basement excavations may not have impacted cultural remains. These various types of sites are too numerous to consider individually in this summary.

Later Gold Rush Period (1853-1860): The Gold Rush building boom peaked in 1853, to be followed by serious depression and bank failures by 1855. The Coast Survey Map based on survey information of 1857 shows the marked change in the Yerba Buena site. Both Mission and Folsom were planked toll roads west of Third Street, the main thoroughfare that was used by the Omnibus Line operating out of stables on Third Street, on the Convention Center Block. The population buildup pushed into the site from the northeast, avoiding the sand hills that had yet to be cut away. Rincon Hill was already a desirable neighborhood of fine homes with views of the city and the bay. By 1860 the sand paddy was at work clearing the 89-foot sand hill that blocked Market Street and spilled into the block just south of Market to Mission, between Third and Fourth. By 1861 the building boom was starting that would continue through 1869. The 1860 Census reveals a mixed population in the Yerba Buena Center that fell into a pattern in which working-class neighborhoods quickly filled in the narrow cross streets of Clementina, Tehama, Hunt, Sherwood, and Ritch. The middle class tended to build larger homes along Mission, Howard, and Folsom, while the more prosperous residents sought the heights of Harrison Street and Second Street. At the close of this late Gold Rush period the American immigrants from the East Coast dominated the Yerba Buena site both in numbers and in every occupation, but they exclusively monopolized the professional classes. The Irish and Germans swelled the ranks

of the working classes, as German brewers started the earliest industries in the area, monopolizing the corner grocery stores and saloons.

As of the date of the Coast Survey Map of 1857, by no means all of the Yerba Buena Center area had been graded to elevations even close to the later levels. Thus, in many cases, the same different classes of sites apply vis-a-vis subsequent grading and basement impact, as outlined above in the summary of the early Gold Rush period.

Later 19th Century (1861-1906): After the booming speculative years of the '60's, anticipating the coming of the transcontinental railroad, San Francisco was to suffer from a serious economic depression that lasted throughout the 1870's and saw the rise of the Workingmen's Party whose membership came largely from the now heavily Irish, South of Market working class. The Second Street cut of 1869 devastated Rincon Hill for future upper-class development and by 1880 the trend toward rooming houses and taking in boarders became a pervasive pattern. The 1880 Census showed the Yerba Buena site to be one of the most densely populated sections of the city as immigrants from Europe and the East continued to crowd into every available living space. The large Chinese immigration of working-class males to San Francisco became the target of the Workingmen's Party, resulting in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. The decade of the 1880's saw the rise of political bossism in San Francisco with its roots in the saloon politics South of Market. The Yerba Buena site continued to contain much of the cheapest housing in the city until the 1906 earthquake and fire devastated the area, leaving only a few gutted buildings, such as the Aronson Building and portions of Wielands Brewery on Second Street.

It was in the first years of the 1860's that almost the entire Yerba Buena Center area was brought into close conformity with the present grade levels. (An exception would be a small part of the Rincon Hill slope that was in one place or another graded downward at different later dates.) Potential historical-cultural remains from this period would therefore usually be deposits originally emplaced below grade level--such as materials in privy vaults, basements, or backyard dumps. As basements

excavated for post-1906 structures would have resulted in the destruction or dispersal of any such deposits, maps have been prepared showing the location of these subsequent impact areas.

The 20th Century (1906-1960): Rooming houses and cheap hotels replaced the single-unit family dwellings of the 1880's and '90's and the population dropped as families did not return after the fire, except to the most southern blocks of the Yerba Buena site. Land values, which were never high, slipped even lower and much of the vacant land left by the fire was slow to rebuild even by 1927. The Great Depression of the '30's was already anticipated by the transient laborers who lived in the cheap South of Market hotels. Private charities were unable to cope with the increasing numbers of destitute men, and government aid in the mid-'30's was slow in coming. Skid row, at Third and Howard, did not go away during World War II but became invisible in a larger transient war-time population.

Cultural remains of the period of the post-Depression decline may be present in basements filled during the reduction of open spaces to their present grade, and materials are probably present from the various recent times when basements with no buildings overhead were occupied by homeless transients.

PREHISTORIC . . . TO 1775

The San Francisco Bay Area can boast of a diverse and lengthy heritage of Native American occupation and settlement that can be traced as far back as five thousand years prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in California. When the Spanish first entered central California some two centuries ago, the region possessed what has been described as "the densest Indian population anywhere north of Mexico" (Margolin 1978: 1). It is estimated that between 7,000 and 10,000 individuals inhabited the coastal areas between Point Sur and the San Francisco Bay (ibid; Kroeber 1925: 464). The natural environment which supported this aboriginal population was astonishingly rich: early European travelers visiting the area continually remarked upon the well-watered fertility of the land and the abundance of game (Beechey 1831; Bolton 1927; Kotzebue 1821; 1830; LaPerouse, 1794).

The Spanish, while much impressed with the region's natural bounty, displayed little but open contempt for the folkways and lifestyles of Indian populations they encountered (Kroeber and Heizer 1968: 14-26; Heizer and Almqvist 1971; Suggs 1965: 1). They called the aborigines they saw Costeños, or coastal people, a term which has since been corrupted to Costonoan, the generic appellation by which most of the Bay Area's aboriginal inhabitants are now commonly known. For the most part, the Spanish failed to note the remarkable cultural diversity which characterized the native inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay region. The Costonoans, or Ohlones as their contemporary descendants prefer to be called, did not constitute a single, homogeneous cultural entity. Rather, no less than

forty small, independent groups or tribelets were distributed throughout the region. Each group claimed its own territory and selected its own leaders (Heizer 1974). Between eight and twelve distinct (although closely related) languages of the Penutian family were spoken by these people (Margolin 1978: 1). The Costanoan cultural entities were incredibly small and encapsulated by our standards: each language probably had no more than 1000 speakers and each group averaged perhaps 250 members (ibid.). The region's environment supported numerous aboriginal settlements and villages. Kroeber (1925: 464) estimates that a minimum of 100 early nineteenth century villages contributed converts to the San Francisco Mission alone (1925: 466).

In general, the Indians of the San Francisco Bay Area were not unlike the other aboriginal inhabitants of pre-European California. The people made their living by hunting and collecting wild foodstuffs: neither agriculture nor animal husbandry were practiced. Near the shores of the bay, shellfish provided a reliable and abundant source of food. In addition, the Indians collected and processed numerous species of edible wild plants, most notably the acorn, which was something of a staple throughout aboriginal California. Fishing was a successful economic endeavor as was the taking of the ubiquitous waterfowl near the bay. Finally, a variety of land mammals were hunted in the hinterlands of the Bay Area. Technology was simple and the material possessions manufactured and owned by the Costanoans were few by modern standards. While some prehistoric villages, particularly those of Late Horizon age (between approximately 500 A.D. and 1800 A.D.), appear to have been inhabited for considerable lengths of time, many sites, particularly those in the interior, were occupied for only brief periods and then abandoned. Even in a bountiful environment, the capacity for mobility was essential for survival, since the locations of available food resources tended to be unpredictable upon occasion and were apt to change from one year to the next or even on a seasonal basis.

The prehistoric inhabitants of the San Francisco Bay Area left behind a prolific archaeological record. Kroeber notes that "the entire Costanoan frontage on ocean and bay is lined with shell deposits. San



Plate 1: Native San Franciscans . . . Louis Choris, an artist with the Russian exploring expedition that put into San Francisco Bay in September in 1816, saw the Indians of Mission Dolores celebrating the Christian God in their own fashion. Most of the Mission's large population of neophytes was drawn from the more favorable climes beyond the boundaries of present-day San Francisco, but there were some Indians resident near the site when the Mission was founded in 1776, and there is archaeological evidence of other occupancy sites, including a shell mound near Third Street, across Harrison Street from the Yerba Buena Center Project.

Francisco Bay in particular is richer in such remains than any other part of the State, except perhaps the Santa Barbara Islands." Shellmounds--vast heaps of broken shell mixed with piles of ash where generations of native foragers deposited their refuse--constitute the single most common archaeological manifestation near the shores of the bay. When N.C. Nelson conducted the first intensive archaeological survey of the region in 1908, he recorded and mapped no less than four hundred and twenty-five shellmounds on or near the shores of the bay (Nelson 1909). This number must represent but a small percentage of the archaeological sites which existed in the area at the end of the prehistoric period, since one must bear in mind that by 1908 the overall size of the bay had been considerably reduced and urban growth had already certainly destroyed or covered over a great many prehistoric deposits.

Considering the wealth of archaeology that once existed in the San Francisco Bay Area, relatively few sites have been investigated in a systematic fashion, and the complex prehistory of the region is not nearly as well understood as most archaeologists would like. San Francisco and its environs grew rapidly during the latter half of the nineteenth century and, as a consequence, a great many archaeological sites were either covered over, damaged, or destroyed entirely. This process of site destruction continues today: every year numerous archaeological deposits in California are adversely impacted by development or other land modifying measures (Clewlow et al. 1971).

The first systematic investigation of an archaeological site in the San Francisco Bay Area was undertaken in 1902 by Max Uhle who sunk a trench into the large Emeryville Shellmound (4-A1a-309) located along the eastern shore of the bay. This site, with 32 feet of archaeological deposition, probably constitutes the most extensive prehistoric shellmound in the region (Uhle 1907: 2). Uhle discerned ten separate stratigraphic components within the Emeryville Shellmound and believed that these could be associated with two distinct chronological periods (ibid.).

During the first two decades of the present century, several large and important Bay Area shellmounds were investigated by pioneering archaeologists. To cite but one example, the Ellis Landing Shellmound

in Richmond (4-CCO-295), with between 28 and 30 feet of archaeological deposition, was studied by Nelson who extracted, among other things, 160 human burials and associated cultural specimen (Nelson 1910). A number of reports have come forward describing the findings of these early investigations (Loud 1924, Schenck 1926) and interpreting the data (Gifford 1916; Kroeber 1936). A review of the published literature indicates that the period between the two World Wars witnessed what appears to be a lessening of professional interest in local prehistoric archaeology. Rather than conducting projects of first hand research, those scholars who continued to work in the field concentrated primarily upon synthesizing and interpreting the data which had been accumulating as a result of prior research; as a result, the first systematic typological and chronological sequences for the prehistory of the San Francisco Bay region were formulated during this period (Heizer 1949; Heizer and Fenenga 1939 Lillard et al 1939).

Within the last two decades, a new generation of archaeologists has arisen with the knowledge that prehistoric sites in the Bay Area are becoming an endangered species; as a result, there has been a reemergent resurgence of interest among professionals in local prehistory. A number of recent field projects (Fredrickson 1968; Gerow and Force 1968; Wallace and Lathrap 1975) have stimulated renewed discussions of a theoretical nature about the region's complex archaeological sequence and cultural history (Bickel 1976; Fredrickson 1974a; 1974b, C. King 1978, T. King, 1974a; Regir 1972).

Contemporary archaeologists have come to the realization that they are faced with a rapidly declining data base in the face of the rapid development of the San Francisco Bay Area. Yet, a host of essential questions concerning the economic, political and social patterns of the region's pre-European inhabitants remain to be answered. For this reason, most prehistorians would consider any relatively intact archaeological site located in the vicinity of the bay to be of great potential importance (i.e. Glassow 1977; Monatto and Kelly 1976).

The Yerba Buena Center—Potential for Prehistoric Sites: The only officially recorded archaeological site within the immediate vicinity of

the project area is 4-SFr-2 (Nelson's shellmound #439). This mound was uncovered on a construction site on the south side of Harrison Street west of Third on the lot immediately to the west of number 733. The find was made in April of 1929 and was already considerably impacted by the time archaeologists had an opportunity to investigate.

E. W. Gifford investigated the site and from his description, it appears to have been a relatively typical Bay Area shellmound. The site contained a paucity of lithic material and no human remains but yielded some mammal and bird bones as well as abundant cooking stones and, of course, massive quantities of shell. A good deal of charcoal was noted but none was saved, since in those days prior to the invention of the radiocarbon dating method nothing could be done with such samples of organic matter. Hence, there are no chronometric dates from this particular site. The material that was collected was transported to the University of California, where it was later transferred to the Lowie Museum of Anthropology and recorded under the accession number I-27097.

At the time of its discovery, shellmound #439 (now 4-SFr-2) was approximately 4-5 feet in depth and of unknown horizontal extent. Its maximum depth was approximately 10 feet below street level. The site might have once been more extensive than was observable at the time of its investigation, since the remains of an old building were resting on the top of the archaeological deposits. Such an occurrence suggests that the site might have been cut away to an unknown extent prior to the erection of the above mentioned building. It is generally agreed that this site was destroyed during the course of construction activities (Kelly 1976: 45). (The remarks about 4-SFr-2 herein are drawn from the original site survey form on file at the University of California).

Other than the site noted in the preceding paragraphs, no archaeological resources of prehistoric age are known to exist in or near the project area. One obsidian scraper of undisputed aboriginal manufacture and prehistoric age was recovered from a mechanical test boring placed within Central Block 3, the site of the Moscone Convention Center (Pastron 1978: 210). Unfortunately, no provenience could be associated with this single specimen and no other aboriginal cultural materials were recovered

with it. However, the possibility of similar finds being made at some other part of the YBC project area remains.

The discovery of fragmentary bones of a human skeleton in October of 1969, during the course of excavation of the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) Civic Center Station (approximately 1 mile distant from YBC), and the subsequent analysis of these remains, suggests possibilities of prehistoric finds within the Yerba Buena Development Project that would have previously seemed much more remote. These remains were encountered about 75 feet below present city grade, 26 feet below mean sea level, and 14 feet above the bottom of a 40-foot layer of clay silt underlying the sand characteristic of the 1852 topography. Radiocarbon dating has placed these remains at a surprising 4950 ± 250 B.P. This is to date the oldest human remains from Central California (Henn and Schenk 1970; Henn, et al. 1972).

As Henn, et al. (ibid) point out, a find of this date has important implications regarding the relationships between the early inhabitants of the Bay Area and the Early Horizon cultures of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta region. It should also be noted that a large part of the skeletal remains in the BART Civic Center site was removed and lost before archaeologists had an opportunity to inspect the find in a systematic fashion.

It is unlikely that any construction related excavation will occur within the confines of the Yerba Buena Development Project area that is nearly so deep as that at the BART Civic Center Station. The CB-3 excavation of over thirty feet penetrated through the fine brown sand layer of the original (historic period) sand hills to the underlying dark silty clay, thus scratching the surface, as it were, of the layers that might contain such underlying deposits of archaeological materials. The depth of the Moscone Convention Center would have been greater, but for the necessity of compromising between design considerations and the exponentially increasing costs of construction below the brown sand level. At the same time, the underground profiles of other YBC blocks change considerably from that of the Convention Center site as one moves east from Third Street to where excavation of not unusual depth would

encounter the base of Rincon Hill. Soil test borings for specific development sites should be studied with regard to the possibility of finds in the underlying strata.

The Harrison Street shellmound (4-SFr-2) was located near the spot marked by the house on the south side of Harrison, seen on the 1852 Coast Survey chart (Map 1A). As can be seen from the 1852 chart, this location was near the edge of the salt marsh that extended across the southwestern portion of Central Block 4 and westward through the small portion of Western Block 4 that lies within the Yerba Buena Center Redevelopment area. The city base datum plane was established during the Gold Rush at 6.7 feet above the average highest tide line observable (no doubt by the collection of growth) on the Davis Street boat stairs. It is probable that the salt marsh line represented about this same level. The city grade level today at Fourth and Harrison streets is 4 feet--at least 11 feet above that imaginary intersection in the salt marsh in 1852. In the zone of CB-4 and WB-4 physically comparable to the 4-SFr-2 site location, some parcels have modern basement excavations sufficiently deep to have destroyed, in all probability, this type of pre-historic site; some parcels had pre-1906 basements beneath raised first stories--excavations that frequently may not have impacted such a site; some parcels, and parts of many other parcels, have never had basements. Therefore, subsequent impact has by no means removed the possibility of extant sites.

It would be unrealistic to make any estimate as to the probability of another site similar to the Harrison Street shellmound being extant. Certainly the existence of one mound proves that the area had physical qualities requisite for such occupation or use. There is abundant evidence from investigation of other Bay Area sites that one shellmound did not preempt the possibility of use of an alternative site nearby. For example, the investigation of the Stege Mounds at Richmond revealed three sites approximately 200 to 500 feet apart (Loud 1924: 355-372).

Finally, it must be noted that we have been discussing the far from remote possibility of a site similar in geographical location character to 4-SFr-2. The area along Third Street, on the western side of EB-4

and near the foot of the original slope of Rincon Hill is another type of location not unknown for such sites, and the history of filling and limited basement impact there is somewhat comparable to that of the parts of CB-4 and WB-4 discussed. The windmill seen in the 1852 daguerreian panorama was near this strip, and there may have been some small spring (perhaps seasonal) that led to the selection of the well location in the early 1850's.

In the absence of precisely any identifiable location of special promise, we have not suggested a field testing program specifically directed toward discovery of prehistoric cultural remains. However, some sites that have potential for historical cultural resources are located within the zone of highest possibility of such prehistoric deposits, and test borings or trenches planned are designed to also test for the prehistoric component--the probable strata of such deposits--as part of the recommended field testing program.

The possibility of encountering prehistoric remains must be borne in mind throughout any testing work done through the YBC site, as well as throughout the construction phases of the project. 4-SFr-2 was first discovered during such a project of construction, and it is possible, though not likely, that a similar shellmound might exist at some other point within the Yerba Buena Development Project area. Any prehistoric site in San Francisco, even one that is disturbed to a great extent, must be considered of potential significance, since the data that can be recovered from such a site is likely to yield information which will add to what we now know of Bay Area prehistory. Also, the fact that all of the YBC blocks have been built over at one time or another does not in and of itself preclude the possibility of encountering a prehistoric site in a relatively intact state. In the eastern portion of the United States, where urban centers were well established before Europeans even settled California, archaeologists have unearthed remarkably intact and valuable deposits of cultural materials of prehistoric age which had been paved or otherwise covered over for as much as two centuries (Huey, et al. 1977: 19). Finally, it must be remembered that there is always a possibility that sites exist and will be encountered which are completely unexpected,

even in an urban context. Although Nelson's 1908 archaeological survey of the Bay Area was extensive, he certainly did not record all of the sites which existed at that time. A review of the collections of local archaeological materials that are housed at the Lowie Museum of Anthropology at the University of California reveals that only a small percentage of the sites which once existed within the region were ever systematically recorded, much less excavated in a professional manner.

Chapter IV

SPANISH, MEXICAN, AND EARLY AMERICAN 1776-1848

The distance between the eastern coast of the American continent and the western coast does not seem great enough to explain the disparity between the Spanish efforts at the exploration of San Francisco Bay and the British attempts to subdue their Yankee colonies in that same year. That so sophisticated a city as Philadelphia should have existed, caught up in the spirit and age of enlightenment, only a continent away from the feeble Spanish efforts to expand their string of sleepy missions to the north, requires a dual vision of historic events that seem out of time and place with each other.

Spanish Exploration and Mission Life

The first systematic exploration of San Francisco Bay and its shores was that of Lieutenant Ayala and his party on the **San Carlos** during a stay of 40 days during August and September of 1775. Ayala's survey was intended to be in support of a land expedition, which failed to arrive, and was in preparation of the planned establishment of a mission and presidio at the port discovered by the Portolá expedition of 1769. The **San Carlos** was anchored at Angel Island, and the two pilots undertook exploration of the bays to the north and south in small boats. Pilot Aguirre, examining the San Francisco Peninsula and South Bay shore, made particular note of his only encounter with Indians (many of whom had been met with on the shore near the anchorage of the **San Carlos**). There

were only three Indians, at the shore of what is now Mission Bay, and their response to the sight of Aguirre, his men, and his boat, was lamentation and weeping. Aguirre named the cove Ensenada de los Llorones in commemoration of this unusual encounter (Bancroft 1886: v. 1, 280).

In March of 1776, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza took a small party north from Monterey to personally reconnoiter the San Francisco Peninsula for location of the presidio and mission. Anza picked the obvious location at the narrows of the Golden Gate for the establishment of a fort, satisfied himself as to the acceptability of a nearby site for the garrison, and circling around the extremity of the peninsula to the east and south of the Golden Gate, located a site he named Arroyo de los Dolores, about a league and a half southeast of his camp near Mountain Lake (on the present Presidio grounds), which had a flowing stream of fresh water and irrigable land. In his quick visit he also encountered some friendly Indians (Bancroft 1886: v. 1, 282-3). The Anza reconnaissance was within a few months followed up by the dispatch of colonists—including settlers and their families and servants as well as soldiers and two priests—to found the Presidio and Mission. The Mission, with its temporary housing and church, was dedicated on October 9, 1776. No Indians attended the ceremonies, all of them having fled in August when a band from the San Mateo area had attacked and burned their huts (Ibid: 290-291).

The progress of the Mission, which was the nearest inhabited site to the Yerba Buena Center during this first recorded period, is of some interest, though the Mission lay nearly two miles to the southwest. J. S. Hittell places the peak of activity at the Mission St. Francis de Asís at 1813, listing its Indian inhabitants at 1,205, with 9,270 head of cattle, 10,120 sheep, 622 horses, and a product of 6,114 bushels of grain (Hittell, 1878: 67). Bancroft finds the highest population in 1820, with 1,252 neophytes on the rolls. He adds, "Its baptisms were exceeded only at San Jose, and its deaths, 2,100 nowhere, the death rate being 63 percent of original population added to the baptisms" (Bancroft, 1886: v. 2, 374). A point of importance from the standpoint of activity on the lands in the present Yerba Buena Center area is that by no means all of this

population was that of the Mission Dolores. Bancroft and Hittell make the point that the San Rafael establishment was in its early years included in the San Francisco accounts and also mentions the rancherias at Buri-Buri and San Pedro, in present San Mateo County. These two latter establishments, not so clearly distinguished from the Mission Dolores proper, perhaps accounted for the **major** portion of the Indian population and agricultural activity at the peak of mission activity.

General M. G. Vallejo recalled in 1876, on the occasion of the centennial of the Mission, that when he saw the place 50 years before it had some 600 Indians--**including** those at San Mateo and San Pedro. In the same address, he recounted the second-hand information of the priests of his youth that "during the first years of the foundation, as the Indians of the Buri-Buri tribe were not willing to live in this place on account of its being extremely cold, and destitute of those fine groves of trees which the hand of Providence was pleased to plant in the region which they occupied, and as the Indians from San Pedro were enjoying the benefits of their fertile land, and hence opposed to come and live in a climate so different from that in which they were born, in order to remedy this inconvenience, and at the same time avail themselves of religious instruction, both tribes petitioned the father ministers, asking to be allowed to live on their lands, obligating themselves to build chapels and to dedicate themselves to agricultural pursuits and other labors, all of which was done with great success" (Davis 1889: 471-474). Thus, while the granaries and workshops and the rows of adobe houses for the neophytes mentioned in all accounts of visitors were reflective of the size of the "corporation," as it were, residents and cattle and farming operations at the site itself were some fraction of the totals. It is probably the case that Indian residency, for the purpose of post-baptismal instruction, was high, while the proportion of estate operation (outside of garden and orchard crops) was much lower.

When the missions were secularized in 1833-35, and most of their lands made available to private grants, the lands south of the Mission, including Buri-Buri and San Pedro, were taken up by Spanish-Mexican residents quickly enough, but the grants later claimed to have been made

(and that on the eve of American occupation) north of the Mission, with the exception of town-sized lots, were found to be fraudulent both in law and from the standpoint of occupation and use.

Though no crops were raised at the site we are considering, or anywhere near it, and though the bulk of the livestock operation must have been south of the Mission Dolores, it is reasonable to assume that the Mission cattle and sheep, and those of the later ranchos to the south, ranged over the area north to Happy Valley and Rincon Hill. The name (Yerba Buena--literally "good herb") certainly more generally referred to the comparative amount of forage near the cove between Telegraph and Rincon hills. Happy Valley, between Market and Howard streets, from the shore near First Street to Second Street (and back to Third Street between Market and Mission), is noted in many early Gold Rush observations to have been the greenest place in the vicinity of the town.

William Heath Davis, recalling the year 1839, when the townsite at Yerba Buena consisted of a little village near the beach around present-day Portsmouth Square, speaks of Daniel Sill, who operated the grist mill brought in by Spear & Hinckley in that year: "While employed as miller he was fond of going out Sunday Mornings for a little hunt. I was often invited to accompany him. We would start about nine o'clock and go over to a place called Rincon, a flat between Rincon Hill and Mission Bay and a resort for deer, the place being covered with a thick growth of scrub oak and willows, which afforded them good shelter. Presently, perhaps four or five deer would appear in sight, and Sill, drawing his old rifle to his shoulder, always got one. 'Now, William,' he would say, 'go for the yellow horse.' This was one of Spear's animals, and was known as the deer horse. I would go and saddle him, and ride over to the hunting ground. By that time, Sill usually had another deer" (Davis 1889: 76).

The area that Davis is describing may include "Pleasant Valley" of Gold Rush times and the south slope of Rincon Hill. It lay between Howard and Folsom, First and Second streets. As can be seen on Map I, a declivity led around the west side of Rincon Hill toward Mission Bay. Along Third Street, from Folsom south to Steamboat Point at King

Street, is a "flat." The slough through the Mission Bay marsh seen extending northward on Map I is the lower part of streams (perhaps seasonal) that came down to about Third and Harrison shown on the map on page 20 in *The Annals of San Francisco* (Soule, 1854).

The Mexican Period

For present purposes, we are assuming that cattle grazed the land where the Yerba Buena Center lies during the Mission period, the end of which coincides with the establishment of the townsite of Yerba Buena in 1835, and that cattle from the ranchos to the south also grazed the land in the following ten years. Assuming the grazing, we assume that all of the area was traversed at one time or another by **vaqueros** (mostly Mission Indians). The only specific use that we have noted thus far that could have resulted in the deposit of cultural materials during this period again comes from the wealth of frequently idle particulars that engaged the reminiscences of W. H. Davis. Commenting on the festivities accompanying the celebration of the Fourth of July at Yerba Buena (which he absent-mindedly dates from 1839 rather than 1836), he mentions that, "On the fifth, picnics took place, as a continuation of the festival, generally at Point Rincon. . . . This celebration was kept up year after year on the Fourth, for a long time, until the change of the government from Mexico to the United States . . ." (Davis 1889: 27). In this connection, and in regard to other changes that were wont to take place, Davis also mentions, "Mr. Spear informed me that during the earthquake of June, '38, a large sandhill standing in the vicinity of what is now Fremont Street, between Howard and Folsom, and between which and the bay at high tide there was a space of about twenty feet, permitting a free passage along the shore to Rincon Point (the coves of which were then much resorted to for picnics and mussel parties), was moved bodily close to the water, so as to obstruct the passage along the shore" (Ibid: 16).

Neither deer hunts nor parties on Rincon Point nor the occasional passage of a **vaquero** would suggest any activity likely to result in much

deposit of cultural materials on the lonely sand hill and valleys of the Yerba Buena Center site--beyond establishing that people of the Spanish and Mexican periods no doubt did at one time or another cross the area.

The road between the Presidio and the Mission did not come within two miles of the site. The road between the settlement at Yerba Buena and the Mission of course passed by this neighborhood, but to the west of Market Street. This road was opened in 1838 for passage of **carretas**, according to Hittell (1878: 87). The line of this road would appear to be the same as that of the trail that Captain Beechey's men improved in 1827, when the **Blossom** twice lay at anchor in Yerba Buena Cove. Beechey's elegant chart of the bay, the first map of the area that has the qualities of a modern survey, shows the trails from the cove to the Mission, from the cove to the Presidio, and between the Mission and the Presidio (Harlow, 1950: 64).

Early American Period . . . 1846-1848

When the landing party from the sloop-of-war **Portsmouth** hoisted the Stars and Stripes in Yerba Buena's dusty Plaza on July 8, 1846, the village inhabitants "numbered upwards of two hundred, and the buildings of all kinds had increased to nearly fifty" (Soule 1854: 173). The town straggled up the slope of what later came to be known as Nob Hill from the beach near Montgomery Street to above Dupont (now Grant Avenue), with the rise of Telegraph Hill beyond Pacific Street marking the northern limit, and the sand hills south of the line of California Street the southern.

A little under two years later (in March, 1848), a census undertaken by the newly formed school board indicated a population of about 850 and some 200 buildings of all classes. Two wharves were noted as under construction (Soule 1854: 200), and we have a detailed map of the town, showing about 90 identified structures, executed by the captain of the first sea-going vessel to discharge at one of these wharves. The vessel was the brig **Belfast**, the wharf a stubby pier at the foot of Broadway hardly suited to effective use by vessels of any size (hence the general

acceptance of the Commercial Street Wharf, or Long Wharf, of 1849 as the "first" regular shipping pier). Captain Harrison drew his map in September of 1848, and it would appear that the visible growth of the town was by way of increasing density rather than any great geographical expansion. Houses were scattered from the south slope of Telegraph Hill to California Street and from the point at Battery Street and the beach at Montgomery Street up the slope to Stockton Street (Harrison 1848).

On the eve of the announcement of the spectacular California gold discoveries in the Eastern press and the subsequent mass migration of 1849, this growing commercial town was clearly the established mercantile capital of the Pacific Coast. But the developed town was only a pale shadow of the imaginary city already in the possession of its inhabitants. Historians for a hundred years have reflected upon the comparative advantages of the location of the "Metropolis of the Pacific" on the windswept sandhills of the San Francisco Peninsula relative to alternative sites, particularly the actively promoted Benicia townsite on the deepwater frontage of Carquinez Straights. A recent analysis of the growth of San Francisco from 1846 to 1856 reflects a historical convention in the following statement:

There are no convincing reasons why the metropolis of the bay area should have been situated where it is. In fact, throughout the period it was the consensus that the isolated peninsula on which the city stands was not a very eligible site. Russian, Nob, and Telegraph Hill as well as numerous sand hills loomed up to complicate the development of a metropolis. There was a large mudflat immediately in front of the town but very little level ground on shore. In addition, the area had neither a good supply of water nor timber for building or shade; and its climate was less salubrious than that of other places on the bay, especially the Contra Costa. In San Francisco it was colder and the breezes blew much harder, bringing in the fog in dense clouds and filling the air with the dust and sand which abounded on the largely treeless, chaparral-choked city site (Lotchin 1974: 6).

The convincing reason is certainly not to be found in comparative geographical advantages. Yerba Buena Cove was no more than adequate as a specific anchorage and landing place, the best that the peninsula afforded, and the argument that the proximity of the anchorage to the

Golden Gate was of determinative importance to shipmasters who had sailed 18,000 miles to get here is indeed unconvincing. More important was the obvious fact that a population, including established merchants, existed at Yerba Buena. On the other hand, with no real wharves and few buildings on the site, it would not appear that there was much substantial vested interest in the location of the city. This appearance was deceiving, for there was some hard reality to the larger town, and then city, that later encompassed the village.

By July of 1846, the Mexican authorities had granted some 83 town lots at Yerba Buena of 50-vara, 50 x 100-vara, and 100-vara size (Hittell 1878: 86). As a vara was nearly an English yard, it will be seen that the grantees, who included the established merchants, held title to the equivalent of several hundred commercial- and residential-sized lots. The needs of an imaginary American city vastly exceeded such a supply, of course, as did the needs of newcomers. Neither the intent of Mexican law nor the most ardent promotion of rival Benicia could contain or keep up with the enterprise of those who could enhance the value of what they had by giving away what they didn't have, while all joined in acquiring more.

Spanish and Mexican law, in reserving beach and water to the state or common use, had conferred a potential positive economic advantage upon Yerba Buena, the village with the shallow waterfront. General Kearny, the military governor, in March, 1847, recognized the need by granting to the town of San Francisco, the title of the United States to the beach and water lots of Yerba Buena Cove "PROVIDED, the said ground here ceded shall be divided into lots, and sold by public auction to the highest bidder, after three months notice previously given . . ." (Soulé 1854: 181). The sale disposed of 200 of the 450 lots in three days, most of them for closer to \$50 than to the \$600 that one beach lot brought. Hittell remarks that "the water lots could not be occupied, and this sale gave little satisfaction to the purchasers or immediate benefit to the town" (Hittell 1878: 114). However, a look at the O'Farrell survey map (see page 25 in Scott, 1959, or any city maps of the early 1850's showing lots and the original waterline) reveals that 200 lots comprised

no more than all the beach property (perhaps 30 lots in whole or part) together with all of the property that it took very small imagination to visualize filling. The degree of potential satisfaction purchasers felt is probably best indicated by the high price of the best beach lot: \$600 was a great deal to pay for a 50-foot lot in a primitive town in 1847. Satisfaction may also be suggested by the number of lots sold: 200 lots, when the census of one month before counted only 247 white males (exclusive of military personnel).

Meanwhile, regular town lots "were disposed of by private sale to applicants at a fixed price put on them by the alcalde, agreeably to the Mexican customs" (Soulé 1854: 180). By August of 1847, 450 of the 700 50-vara lots laid out by Jasper O'Farrell north of Market Street early in the year had been granted, together with 70 of the 130 100-vara lots south of Market. The price was \$12 for the lots 50-varas square, \$25 for the less valuable South of Market lots four times that size. The "Mexican customs" were also supposedly followed in allowing only one lot to a customer, the lot to be fenced and built upon within one year! These disagreeable features of Mexican law were dispensed with by the meeting of the first town council in September--no doubt because they were going to prove universally embarrassing as well as being decidedly un-American. It should be noted that the limitation upon multiple grants was not too strictly enforced even before the conquest, as Jacob P. Leese, the first American resident of the original town, had in his possession in 1846 **nine** 50- or 100-vara lots.

This pattern and technique of land disposal was well calculated to enhance the value of the centrally located lots held by the original citizens (and merchants) of the town, giving them ample opportunity to protect and advance their interests, and at the same time offer everybody with a few dollars' worth of confidence in the future of the city a stake in that future. With real market value present in the central locations and nearly free lots available on the periphery, it is hard to see how a rival promotion, such as Benicia, could have succeeded unless its promoters were prepared to heavily subsidize initial development and had in mind some astute and imaginative scheme promising large but long-deferred profits.

A compilation of the number of lots granted or sold in San Francisco by the spring of 1848 (as derived from comments in the **Annals**, Hittell, and Bancroft regarding specific sales or classes of transactions) reached 915--probably an underestimate, given the nature of the sources. If we assume that the average lot-holder thought his property worth about \$100, while a goodly number of lots were obviously worth much more than that, then San Francisco real estate holdings might have been thought to be worth over \$1 million. To be sure, most of that million dollars was imaginary--but real market trades of some properties could lend support to such a valuation, and in any event, such a figure indicates the class of imaginary value that promoters would have had to create to induce removal to an alternative site. Figures of such magnitude would not have appeared so unreal a year later, in light of the flood of treasure released by the foothills of the Sierra in the summer and fall of 1848--but the effect of the Gold Rush on San Francisco real estate was, of course, to increase values so rapidly as to create an unshakable vested interest in spectacularly rapid development of the city site, to the exclusion of Benicia and "Boston," not to mention "New York of the Pacific."

The hasty disposal of as much of the city's corporate property as the market could absorb--even at nominal prices--may from one perspective have been the most important single event or continuing action that took place in the town during the two years between the American seizure and the exodus to the gold fields. It was a policy easy in retrospect to deplore, and historians from the Annalist of the early 1850's to the present have generally taken the opportunity to do so. However, this near-giveaway of public land to those of the public who wanted it (and had the small capital or right connections to get it) was no novelty to Americans, and in the case of San Francisco (and what was San Francisco, if not San Franciscans already present?) the policy served well to secure the town against all rivals. Not so much can be said for some subsequent disposals of lands acquired by the city in its growing years.

South of Market Street, which at this time was marked by a couple of the highest peaks amongst the sand hills south of the town, the large blocks and 100-vara lots appeared an appropriate response to laying out

a site destined for future city expansion (and modest speculation), but not considered of much immediate value. The beach line, and its extension into the shallows, was cut up into small lots, as were the water and beach lots to the north. The shift in the orientation of the streets south of Market, which together with the different size of the blocks resulted in Market Street intersections that are not crossings, makes some sense if the beach and waterlots as laid out are seen as vastly the most valuable property. Thus, First Street conformed to the shoreline of the cove in the same manner as Montgomery Street, with rows of waterlots east of it. At the same time, the major east-west streets south of Market recognized, as it were, the reality of Mission Bay and conformed to reasonable expectations of filling and development in this quarter. The grid plan of the city was widely criticized by contemporary observers for its failure to take account of natural topography; it is at least interesting to note that this one instance of modifying the grid to suit the site produced dubious consequences.

Chapter V

THE GOLD RUSH . . . 1849-1852

Somewhat different spans of years can be identified as the Gold Rush period in the history of San Francisco, each appropriate to one occasion or another. Writing from the vantage point of the mid-1870's--close enough to have witnessed events, removed enough to have placed them in later perspective--J. S. Hittell divided the broadest possible application of the theme into two segments: "The Golden Era" (1848-1853) and "The Golden Era in Decline" (1854-1860), the division being the peaking of the economic boom in '53 and the onset of depression in 1854. A definition frequently useful for other purposes identifies the Gold Rush period as dating either from the exodus of the citizenry from the town to the mines in the summer of 1848, or the arrival of the first '49ers from the East after the beginning of the next year, to the dramatic political upheaval of the **Second Committee of Vigilance** in 1856, an event that involved more than symbolic rejection of the "anything goes" atmosphere of "The Instant Metropolis" and ushered in parsimonious as well as orderly government controlled by a mercantile class that might not have chosen to change places with its counterparts in St. Louis, Cincinnati, or Savannah, but had the same long-term interests.

For the purposes of describing the development of the South of Market and Yerba Buena Center area, we find the influx of the '49ers the event that began actual settlement and development of the district. We could justify 1852 as marking the end of the Gold Rush proper on several grounds: It was the last year of the huge annual net gain to the population triggered by the world-wide rush to the California placer mines

(in '53 departures almost equalled arrivals); it was the peak year of production of gold (though Custom House export figures often give the impression that '53 was the peak); and it was the year in which the permanent city began to take shape (almost the whole of the Gold Rush city core, north of Market Street, having been wiped out in successive general conflagrations during 1850 and '51). But even more relevant to description of stages of development in the YBC area is the fact that the U.S. Coast Survey completed its wonderfully detailed survey of the city in February of 1852, exactly at a point when the Gold Rush boom had resulted in scattered occupation of this remote district, but before the full impact of the huge gold output and immigration of 1852, and the "overshoot" of the boom through 1853 and '54, resulted in the very considerable alterations of the natural topography and substantial development of the area visible on the Coast Survey Map of 1857.

Thus, for the early part of 1852 we can develop a surprisingly comprehensive picture of the sparsely occupied site in close to its natural topographical condition, even to photographs showing portions of the YBC district as well as all of the more intensively developed area eastward to the shore of the bay and Rincon Point. From the standpoint of consideration of potential historical cultural resources, the date of the survey could hardly have been better chosen.

The Village Becomes a City

Those speculators who had seen fit to invest \$25 (plus \$3.62 in deed and recording costs) for the 100-vara South of Market sandlots may have looked toward a not-too-distant date when subdivision of these roughly 1-3/4 acre parcels might realize several times the entire investment from the sale of only one of a dozen or more building lots. Of the 48 100-vara lots lying entirely, or in part, within the boundaries of the Yerba Buena Center, 17 were sold before April, 1848—that is, before there was any solid report of potentially important or extensive gold discoveries. Of the 100-vara lots between First and Second streets, all of the parcels

sold early in 1847, with the possible exception of two Mission Street lots that may have been listed as granted in December of 1849 as the result of some earlier confusion in possession (see Wheeler, 1852, for a schedule of all grants and sales to that date, with lot numbers, dates of grant, and grantees). This first tier of lots west of First Street (which marked the shoreline at Market Street), together with the much smaller beach lots (and some 50-vara lots between First Street and Rincon Point), included the original "Happy Valley" settlement and the pioneer industrial area along the beach between Market Street and Rincon Point.

The arrival of tens of thousands of gold seekers in California during 1849 changed San Francisco from the principal commercial town of the Pacific Coast into one of the major cities of the United States--albeit a city of most curious and ephemeral appearance. The generally accepted figure for the mass migration of '49 is approximately 30,000 overlanders and 30,000 Argonauts; most of the arrivals by sea passed through the city, and a good part of them, as well as many of the overlanders, spent at least part of the extremely wet winter of 1849-50 in San Francisco. The annalists estimated that the population of the city at the close of 1849 was about 20-25,000--a very small proportion of it comprised of women and children (Soulé, 1854: 244).

With such a population, an astonishing amount of construction of one sort or another was required, and the aspect of the city changed almost from month to month, leading to seemingly inconsistent descriptions. The annalists, perhaps summarizing the last half of 1849, but specifically referring to the end of the year in the previous paragraph, described the scene as follows:

There was no such thing as a **home** to be found. Scarcely even a proper **house** could be seen. Both dwellings and places of business were either common canvas tents, or small rough board shanties, or frame buildings of one story. Only the great gambling saloons, the hotels, restaurants, and a few public buildings and stores had any pretensions to size, confort or elegance. The site on which the town is built was then still covered with numerless sand-hills. . . .

In those miserable apologies for houses, surrounded by heaps and patches of filth, mud, stagnant water, the strange mixed population carried on business, after a fashion. It is not to be supposed that people could or did manage matters in the strict orderly manner of older communities. Very few were following that particular business to which they

had been bred. . . . Every immigrant on landing at San Francisco became a new man in his own estimation, and was prepared to undertake any thing or any piece of business whatsoever. . . . Doctors and dentists became draymen, or barbers, or shoe-blacks; lawyers, brokers and clerks turned waiters, or auctioneers, or perhaps butchers; merchants tried laboring and plumbing, while laborers and plumbers changed to merchants. . . . Adventurers, merchants, lawyers, clerks, tradesmen, mechanics, and every class in turn kept lodging-houses, eating and drinking houses, billiard rooms and gambling saloons, or single tables at these; they dabbled in "beach and water lots," fifty-vara blocks, and new town allotments over the whole country; speculated in flour, beef, pork and potatoes; in lumber and other building materials; in dry goods and soft, hard goods and wet; bought and sold, wholesale and retail, and were ready to change their occupation and embark in some new nondescript undertaking after two minutes' consideration. . . . Heaps of goods disappeared, as if by magic, and new heaps appeared in their place. Where there was a vacant piece of ground one day, the next saw it covered with half a dozen tents or shanties. (Soulé 1854: 252)

The author of the best and most widely read contemporary account of San Francisco and the California mining scene in 1849, Bayard Taylor, arrived by steamer from Panama in September of 1849, went directly to the mines, and returned to the city at the end of December. Here is his brief summary of two cities in the same place:

When I landed there, a little more than four months before, I found a scattering town of tents and canvas houses, with a show of frame buildings on one or two streets, and a population of about six thousand. Now on my last visit, I saw around me an actual metropolis, displaying street after street of well built edifices, filled with an active and enterprising people and exhibiting every mark of permanent commercial prosperity. Then, the town was limited to the curves of the Bay fronting the anchorage and bottom of the hills. Now it stretched to the topmost heights, followed the shore around point after point, and sending back a long arm through a gap in the hills, took hold of the Golden Gate and was building its warehouses on the open strait and almost fronting the blue horizon of the Pacific. Then, the gold-seeking sojourner lodged in muslin rooms and canvas garrets, with a philosophic lack of furniture and ate his simple though substantial fare from pine boards. Now, lofty hotels gaudy with verandas and balconies, were met with in all quarters, furnished with home luxury, and aristocratic restaurants presented daily their long bills of fare, rich with the choicest technicalities of the Parisian cuisine. Then, vessels were coming in day after day, to lie deserted and useless at their anchorage. Now scarce a day passed, but some cluster of sails bound **outward** through the Golden Gate, took their way to all corners of the Pacific. Like the magic seed of the

Indian juggler, which grew, blossomed and bore fruit before the eyes of his spectators, San Francisco seems to have accomplished in a day the growth of half a century (Taylor 1850: 148).

Taylor gave a somewhat exaggerated impression, perhaps, of the number of first-class buildings thrown up during his four months' absence, but there can be no doubt that the change was dramatic. Indeed, a revisit in December of 1853 might have led him to write that San Francisco had accomplished in four years the growth of a full century, for most of what he saw at the end of '49, and most of the much more substantial improvements of 1850 and early 1851, were wiped out in successive conflagrations that together consumed the central city of the Gold Rush. As he stood at the rail of the Panama steamer on Christmas eve, 1849, Taylor witnessed the first of these fires: small, by conflagratory standards soon to be established, it destroyed some of the more valuable properties on Portsmouth Plaza. The going price of choice real estate was suggested by the rents of some of these buildings:

A certain two story frame building, known as the 'Parker House,' and situated on Kearney street, facing the plaza, paid its owner one hundred and twenty thousand dollars a year in rents. . . . The 'El Dorado,' a gambling saloon, which adjoined the Parker House on the right, at the corner of Washington street, and which was only a canvas tent of moderate size, brought at the rate of forty thousand dollars per annum. At another corner of the plaza a small building, which might have made a stable for half-a-dozen horses, was possessed by Wright & Co., brokers, under the name of the Miners' Bank, at a rent of seventy-five thousand dollars. . . . Real estate, that but a few years before was of little more worth than an old song, now brought amazing prices. From plain twelve dollars for fifty-vara lots, prices gradually rose to hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of dollars; so that large holders of such properties became on a sudden **millionaires** (Soule, 1854: 124).

But just as San Francisco easily bested all upstart rivals to cityhood in the Bay Area in 1847-1849, because San Francisco had far more tangible and broadly based speculative investment, so the original townsite at San Francisco (the hollow on the waterfront between Pacific and California streets) maintained its preeminence over other quarters of the town for the same reason. For example, "**Honest Harry**" Meiggs, the most popular and progressive alderman of the early '50's, and also the pioneer mill

operator and lumber importer of the Redwood Coast, advanced a well-laid plan to turn North Beach into a valuable commercial district. Like the original site of Yerba Buena, North Beach consisted of a sizeable hollow of conveniently buildable land fronting on a shallow cove eminently suited to filling. It connected to the original townsite by way of the low saddle today traversed by Columbus Avenue, and to further facilitate communication, Meiggs built a level roadway around North Point. He laid out Meiggs' Wharf 2000 feet to deep water, extending the pier not along a street line franchised by the city for such purpose, but through the center of a whole tier of blocks of waterlots that he had purchased. He built his lumber mill at the foot of the pier, and his ardent spokesmanship of the advantages of the neighborhood was no doubt accompanied by attractive lot offerings to those who would locate there.

The vision and abilities of this man who started the lumber trade with Mendocino and later built the mountain railways of Peru and Chile should not be discredited simply because the momentary needs of his North Beach promotion led him to spectacularly overextend his credit and resort to forge city warrants as convenient currency. Indeed, the financial depression of 1854 can be looked to as the reason that "Honest Harry" found it more in his interest to take sail to the Southern Seas than to take part in an untimely settlement of accounts--but Meigg's financial bubble would not have blown to bursting dimensions had his North Beach development attracted large investment in 1852 and 1853; alternatively, his failure would have paved the way to the great success of others had North Beach stood a chance in competition with the old Yerba Buena site. As it was, the boom of the 1860's passed without the filling of the "choice" waterlots alongside Meiggs' Wharf. (See Hittell 1878: 218-226, for a brief, accurate, and graceful account of Meiggs.)

The preeminence of the central townsite was influenced by the fact that increase in the already large values there created more absolute wealth than a proportionate increase in small values elsewhere, and it was unshakeably established by the opportunity of creating new building sites alongside the wharves required to handle the immense import of goods. The cost of building on pilings or of filling waterlots was in effect

underwritten by the value of "old" city-front lots, for why should new frontage be less valuable than old? Thus, so long as demand for prime commercial property increased, waterlots from California to Pacific Street and Sansome Street to Front Street and beyond served the interest of speculators very well indeed.

The Settlement of Happy Valley

Although the remarkable growth of San Francisco between 1849 and 1852 was most impressively to be seen in the form of the brick business houses, the numerous wharves, and the extension of the city eastward into the cove, it also spread northward, southward, and to some degree westward. As Map I shows, in February of 1852 houses were scattered as far as Jones Street, at the North Beach foot of Russian Hill, not to mention the thinly spread settlement on the east side of Russian Hill in the tract laid out near Washerwoman's Lagoon (upper left of Map I). Despite the steep pitch of the hills directly west of the central district, residences had been built to about the 200-foot level of Powell and Mason streets between California and Vallejo; these heights did not have to wait upon the invention of the cable car to attract affluent householders. Southward, the city jumped a noticeable gap along the line of Market Street into what on the map appears at first to be a general scatter of structures, but is revealed on close inspection to be three major geographical groupings. **Happy Valley**, stretching from First and Mission out to around Third and Jessie streets; **Pleasant Valley**, bounded by First and Second, Howard and Folsom streets, and **Rincon Point**. A cluster of buildings was also found in the hollow near Third and Howard, with other buildings here and there all the way to the edge of the marsh west of Third Street and out to Steamboat Point, near present-day Fourth and King streets.

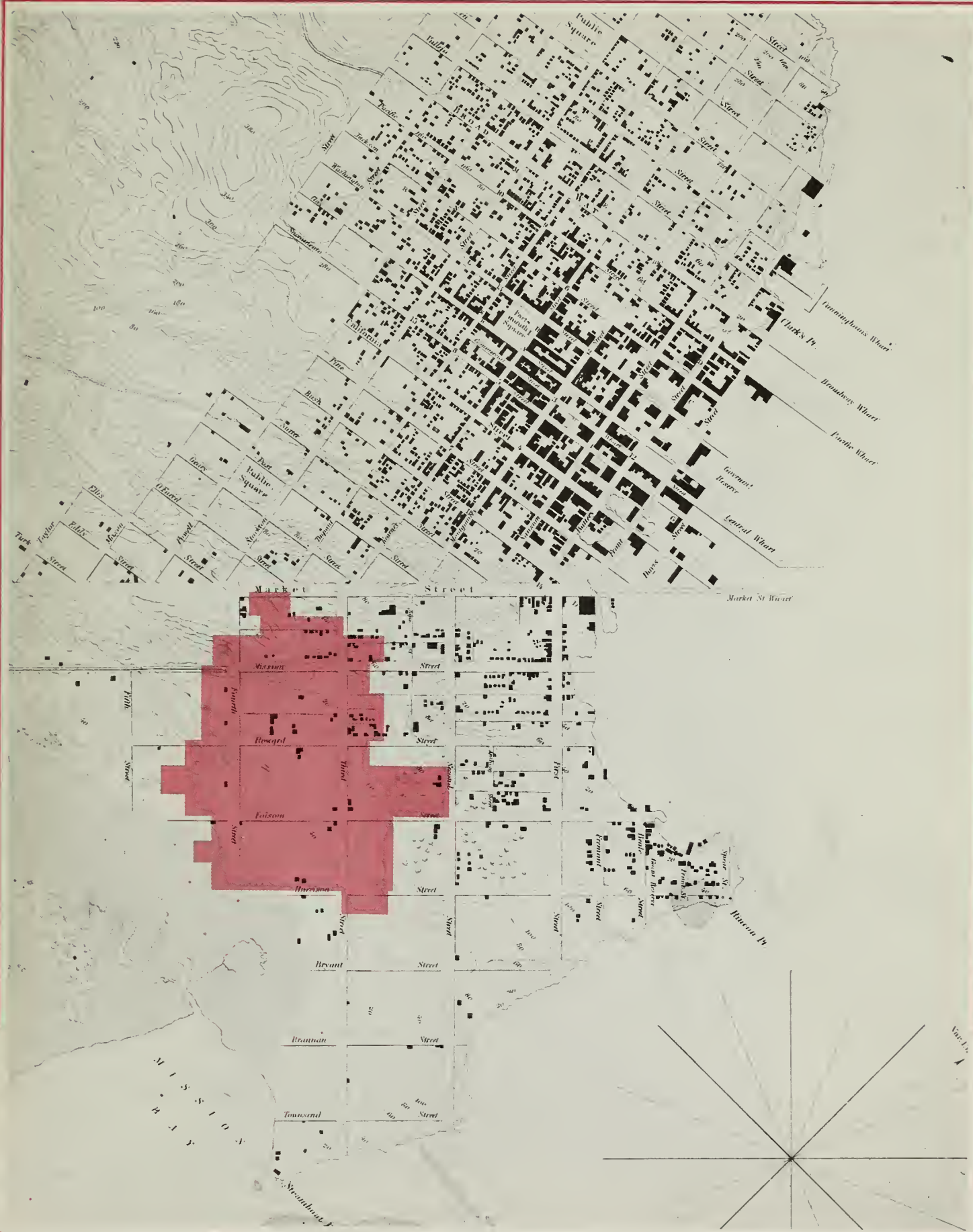
The name "Happy Valley" was apt to be applied to the entire area between Rincon Hill and Market Street. Both the name and the settlement dated from the fall of 1849, when the first real wharf for seagoing ships, Central or Long Wharf, was being built out to deep water along the line

of Commercial Street. The logic of geography might suggest that the one frontage was potentially as valuable as the other; but the logic of investment followed the rules outlined above.

A part of the city worthy of notice is Happy Valley so called--a large collection of tents pitched in a valley near the beach which may contain two thousand inhabitants, mostly new comers waiting to go to the mines. . . . These locate in Happy Valley wherever they see fit. Any attempt to collect rent (there have been several such attempts made) is rejected as absurd. This appears to be a regular **free soil** movement carried out into pretty effectual operation, for half a mile above there any piece of land large enough to pitch a decent sized tent will rent for a very high price. In the Valley a variety of trades are carried on and there are a number of small shops with the sale of small articles and liquor (Caughey, 1941: 29).

If we are to judge by the lists of original grantees or purchasers of lots, it would appear that some of those charging the high rents north of Market were also the legal proprietors of the **free soil** of Happy Valley, and as they were as a class men of more than a little influence, we can only conclude that they thought it as unprofitable as imprudent to collect paltry rents from a population that had to squat somewhere. For instance, W. D. M. Howard owned 100-vara lot #2, at the southwest corner of First and Mission, and his partner Henry Mellus owned lot #4, adjoining to the east--two lots at the heart of Happy Valley. Howard led an armed company of 80 men to Sacramento to help quell the "squatter riots" of August 1850; we may presume that if goldseekers made free soil of his property, or that of his neighbors, it was because he had not yet found genuine valuable use for the property.

Given the pace of Gold Rush development, identification of the date of the first occupation of any of the land in the Happy Valley area should call for specifying a particular month, rather than a year. One of the authors of the **Annals of San Francisco**, Dr. John S. Gihon, specified that he erected the first habitation on Rincon Point--an India-rubber tent--on November 26, 1849 (Soule, 1854: 238). He went on to say, "There were at that time but several buildings between the Rincon and California street, while the water of the bay washed the foot of precipitous sand-hills the greater portion of the distance, which required the pedestrian, when



Map 1: San Francisco in February, 1852;
U.S. Coast Survey.



the tide was in, to wade up to his waist in water in passing from the city to the point. . . ." Apparently Gihon was making a careful distinction between framed structures and tents, for there is both pictorial and verbal evidence that there were many tents prior to November.

It may be that there were no occupants of Happy Valley in the early spring of 1849, when the Gold Rush immigration was still limited to steamship arrivals from Panama and the influx by sailing ship from Pacific ports. But the arrivals from the East swelled to a flood by summer. Among the most extensive Happy Valley notes are those of **Samuel C. Upham**, who arrived by way of Cape Horn early in August of 1849. On August 6, Upham made his arrangements to settle himself ashore:

In the afternoon I visited the encampment of the gold diggers in Happy Valley, for the purpose of selecting a site on which to pitch my tent. On the following day I moved my luggage ashore, and located myself among the sojourners there. My provisions and mining implements were soon landed from the **Osceola**, and I made the necessary arrangements for spending a few weeks in San Francisco as comfortably as possible. I learned from the experienced in such matters, that the water in the tributaries of the Sacramento and San Joaquin was too high to admit of working in the wet diggings to advantage, and that the dry diggings could not be successfully worked until late in the fall, after the rainy season had set in. I therefore concluded to remain in San Francisco until the middle of September. The limited state of my finances--**six dollars and seventy-five cents, all told**--would not admit of my remaining idle during the interim, therefore I immediately set out in quest of employment. Passing down Pacific Street toward Clark's Point, I saw several of my fellow-passengers engaged shoveling and wheeling dirt, at \$5 per day. I applied for a situation, but was informed there was no vacancy. I soon after obtained a situation in the lumber-yard of Palmer, Cook & Co., at \$8 a day, which I held until I had raised the requisite funds to defray my expenses to the mines. Some old fossil has said or written, perhaps both, that "poverty is no disgrace;" but to a person with a diaphragm and an appetite, it is very unpleasant and depressing, with the following bill of fare staring him in the face: "Beefsteak, \$1; coffee, 75 cents; bread, with butter, 50 cents!"

San Francisco--formerly Yerba Buena--is a queer place. It contains at this time a dozen **adobe** structures and perhaps two hundred roughly-constructed frame buildings, mostly shipped around Cape Horn. The beach, Happy Valley, for the space of two miles, is covered with canvas and rubber tents, and the adjacent sand-hills are dotted to their summits

with these frail but convenient tenements of the prospective miner. The population, numbering perhaps five thousand, is as heterogeneous as their habitations. It seems as though every nation on the face of the earth had sent a representative to this place, and that they had all arrived with their credentials. Such a medley of languages and jargon of tongues the world has seldom seen. It is a modern Babel (Upham 1873: 218-222).

Upham, writing in 1873 from both journal and recollections, is in some error in identifying most of the frame buildings in the city as having been shipped out by way of Cape Horn, although prefabricated structures had no doubt already been sent out and were certainly soon to be a conspicuous feature of the Gold Rush city--and Happy Valley. Also, in describing Happy Valley and the city as a whole in the same paragraph, he may give the impression that the population of Happy Valley was 5,000 in August of 1849, whereas he must have been referring to the city. He soon went up to the digging, but returned by November. His comments on the swift change of the city during the fall of 1849 parallel somewhat those of Taylor, but he gives us specific detail regarding developments south of Market:

San Francisco, during my absence of two months, had become so changed that I scarcely recognized it. Substantial frame buildings had superseded frail canvas tenements, and piers had been extended many hundred yards into the bay, at which vessels from the four quarters of the globe were discharging their cargoes. I visited the gold-diggers' encampment, Happy Valley, but that too was so changed, that I could hardly recognize a familiar spot or countenance. A three-story warehouse was being erected on the spot where I had pitched my tent two months previously. The saw and hammer of the carpenter could be heard in every square, and the voice of the crier and auctioneer at the corner of nearly every street. The Plaza was covered with booths, in which could be had the merchandise of all nations.

As hotel accommodations were limited as well as expensive, I purchased for \$100 a ship's galley, size four by five feet, which I located in Happy Valley and commenced housekeeping. My furniture consisted of an empty flour-barrel and a nail-keg. The former served for a table and the latter as a chair, minus a back. My cooking utensils were as inexpensive as my furniture. A second-hand frying-pan, a dilapidated coffee-pot, and a rheumatic jack-knife comprised the catalogue. My bed consisted of two blankets and a soft block of wood for a pillow. Unfortunately, I was, by actual measurement, eight inches longer than my shebang; therefore, when "I lay me down to sleep," I was compelled

to lie bias, and I couldn't turn over without going out-of-doors.

'Man wants but little here below,'

but he wants that little long enough to turn over in. With no disrespect to Happy Valley, there is one thing which, as a truthful historian, I am compelled, more in sorrow than anger, to relate. The flea, that festive and lively little 'animile,' was quite prevalent. He annoyed me sorely, yea, prodigiously! The sojourners in Happy Valley and surrounding sand-hills never required cupping or leeching, as both operations were performed by the fleas, **nolens volens**.

Being the owner of a house, I commenced looking about for some employment whereby I could raise the needful to keep the pot boiling. My first business venture was in the pickle line, and the following extract from my journal will illustrate the **modus operandi**:

'Pickles are scarce and sell at fabulous prices. The beach of Happy Valley for miles is lined with discarded pickle-jars and bottles, and I have conceived the happy idea of utilizing them. I have gathered up, cleansed and stored around my shebang, several hundred bottles ready for use. This afternoon, I boarded a vessel just arrived from Boston, and persuaded the captain to sell me a barrel of salted cucumbers and half a barrel of cider-vinegar, to be delivered to-morrow morning.'

After supper I wrapped myself in my blankets and laid down to pleasant dreams; but toward morning, I had a vision, and in that vision I saw--pickles. Captain Perkins delivered the cucumbers and vinegar, according to agreement, received his pay, and I immediately commenced bottling them. Before night, I had the largest stock of bottled pickles in San Francisco, and at the close of the week I struck a balance-sheet, and found that I had cleared \$300 by speculation. My next mercantile venture was a "corner" in tobacco pipes, by which I realized \$150 in twenty-four hours.

Having abiding faith in the old aphorism, 'change makes change,' I concluded to abandon mercantile pursuits and try my luck at the news-paper business. I resolved to commence at the lower round of the ladder, and gradually work my way upward. Suiting the action to the thought, I at once applied to the proprietors of the **Pacific News**, a tri-weekly, printed on a foolscap sheet, then in its infancy, for permission to canvass for a carrier's route on their journal. After a long interview, during which the project was discussed **pro** and **con**, I obtained the sole and exclusive right to canvass for subscribers, and serve the **News** in San Francisco and suburbs, which latter included Happy Valley and adjacent sand-hills (Upham 1873: 257-259).

The reference to the "three-story warehouse" is puzzling--unless Upham were perhaps looking at the frame of a two-story structure with

attic. A couple of buildings of this description can be found near the beach in photographs taken somewhat later, but the three-story buildings we see that may have been under construction as early as the end of 1849 were a bit north of Market.

Upham again returned to a brief comment on the progress of Happy Valley just before he left California in August of 1850:

Happy Valley, which, four months previously, contained scarcely half a dozen frame buildings, now boasted as many hundreds. Verily, this **El Dorado** is a wonderful country; and San Francisco, despite clouds of dust and chilly afternoons, is destined to become the second city on this continent. Farewell, San Francisco! (Upham 1873: 357).

A View of Happy Valley in 1852

The buildings "shipped around Cape Horn," mentioned by Upham in his description of San Francisco in 1849, were nowhere to be seen in Happy Valley at that time, but East Coast prefabs were indeed the most conspicuous single feature of the neighborhood by the time daguerreian artists made the first photographs of the Gold Rush city. It is not generally understood that photographic views of San Francisco in the early 1850's are not necessarily some kind of primitive and murky rarity. The Gold Rush was the first great ongoing event of world-wide interest that occurred after the daguerreian process had become sufficiently well-known that competent practitioners were numerous and the bread-and-butter business of daguerreian portraiture so popular that a man with a camera could make a living at it. (The Crimean War was the second such event, and not a little of the astonishing excitement produced by the reports from this remote battleground was generated by the wonderfully accurate and detailed wood engravings--copied from daguerreotypes--disseminated by the popular press and the public showings of original daguerreotypes themselves.) Thus San Francisco was not the least but the most photographed city in America in the early 1850's.

The daguerreian process produced sparkling images, pictures of a sharpness not exceeded by films in common use in quite recent times.



Plate 2: The Beach at Happy Valley . . . Painted by Augusto Ferran in 1850, this scene of the shoreline of the cove South of Market Street was drafted from Rincon Point. The shore near at hand is alive with shipbuilding and repair, the two large vessels at the left being knocked-down steamboats for the river trade, shipped out by way of Cape Horn. In the middle distance is the sandy bluff at around Howard and First streets that forced the traveler to the city to wade through the bay mud at high tide.

The perspective of the painting gives the impression of much greater distance to the city (under Telegraph Hill, at center) than do contemporary photographs. Technically, the left foreground area is Pleasant Valley, with Happy Valley beyond the sand bluff—but the name Happy Valley was used to characterize the entire South of Market shoreline area. (Bancroft Library)



Plate 3: San Francisco from Howard Street, 1852 . . . This daguerreian panorama was made from the 60-foot sand ridge at First and Howard streets early in 1852. It is copied from the only full print of the 360-degree panorama that we have found—the usual copies including only the portion facing the cove and "forest of masts" of Gold Rush shipping.

The view is presented with the top right-hand section where the right-hand end of the pan-

orama was as originally framed, the lower left-hand section was at the far left in the framed panel. Those lower left and top right sections join to make the full 360-degree view. Not until 1876 did Edward Muybridge set up his view camera in the tower of the Mark Hopkins mansion on Nob Hill and make the second full 360-degree view from the city. This is probably the first time that the full view of 1852 has been published. (National Maritime Museum at S.F.)



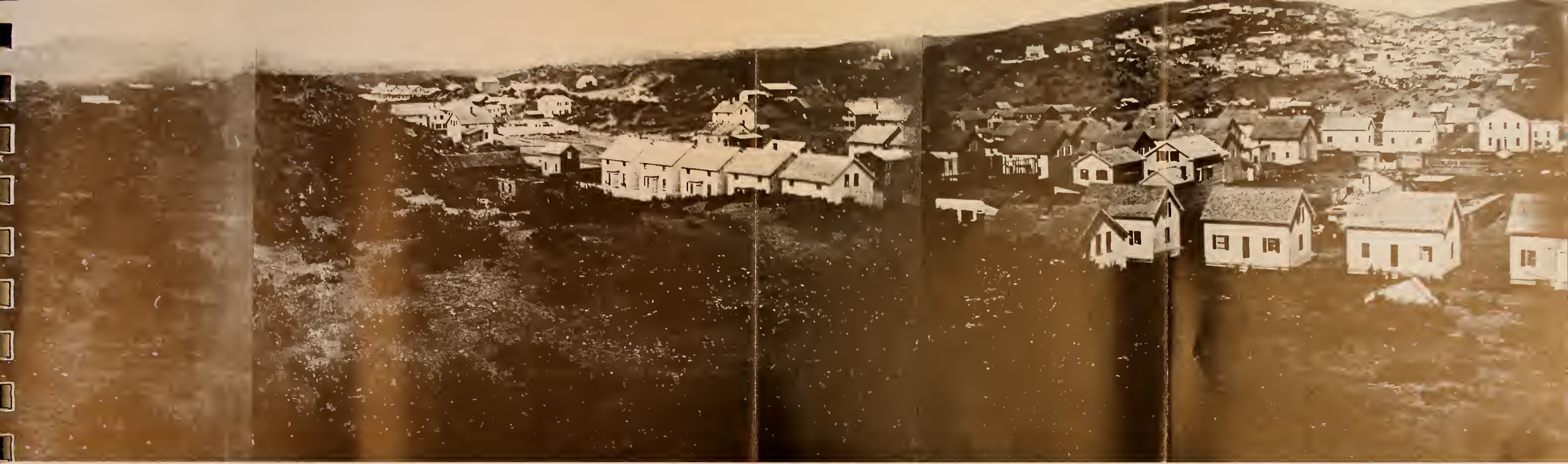




Plate 4: Prefabs In Happy Valley . . . This view is an enlargement from a section of a partial panorama that was taken at nearly the same date as Plate 3. It shows a portion of the area seen in Section E of Plate 3, and is included here to show both the detail obtainable from original daguerreian plates and some of the details of the prefabricated houses shipped out from New England for erection in California's first "ticky-tacky" subdivision. (California Historical Society)

Plate 5: Yerba Buena Cove and the South of Market, 1851 . . . This photograph from Nob Hill is from the earliest general daguerreian view of San Francisco that we have seen. It places Plates 2, 3, and 4 in a perspective more easily identifiable in connection with Map 1, and shows Happy Valley in the year between the Ferran painting (1850) and the 360-degree panorama (1852). (George Eastman House)



However, the daguerreotype was unique--the picture existed in only the one positive photographic image on the silvered surface of a copper plate. It was easily scratched (and hence almost always immediately encased in standardized gutta-percha boxes or framed for hanging), and the silver could tarnish. Thus, daguerreotypes of Gold Rush San Francisco may have seemed rare, except as particular views were copied and distributed, while in the copying so much has been lost in many cases that the pictures are of much less use than they should be. One of the unexpected virtues of the daguerreotype as a historical document is that its physical attractiveness and its appearance as an object of some value has distinguished it from disposable objects (such as unidentified and unmounted turn-of-the-century Kodak snapshots). Thus, 125-year-old views keep "turning up." An example of a daguerreian series important to this study that on one hand turned up, but on the other hand was the victim of bad photographic handling, is the 360-degree panorama of 1852 shown as Plate 3.

Panorama and Coast Survey Chart of 1852: The panorama seen in the fold-out (Plate 3) was made at about the time of the fieldwork for the Coast Survey Chart of 1852 (Map 1). The survey was completed in February of 1852; the photographic panorama was made during the winter, as can be seen by the shadows. The panorama was dated 1851 by Morton Behrman, the historic photograph copyist who appears to have worked around in various professional studios in San Francisco early in this century. Behrman may have had the original daguerreian plates to shoot--but he may have been copying the work of some previous copyist. In either case, Behrman's 1851 date would be suspect, as we have seen many Behrman prints--identifiable even without the name by Behrman's inept reverse writing through the emulsion--that he misdated. In this case, the correspondence of the buildings in the panorama with those on the chart, together with the winter shadows, definitely places the photograph in the winter of 1851-52. As there are some (though not many) buildings in the photograph that do not appear on the chart, it seems probable that the panorama was made early in 1852.

Large portions of this panorama (or its twin) have been reproduced before, but the set of prints that Plate 3 is copied from is the first full

360-degree that we have encountered. A near-duplicate panorama that omits about 90 degrees--the 90 degrees facing the Yerba Buena Center site--exists in the form of the original daguerreian plates in the collections of the California Historical Society. A good (though not the best possible) set of prints from this original shows clearly such detail as the name of the large white sidewheel steamboat nosed up to the shore at Rincon Point (Section I). It is the **C. M. Weber**, that ran mostly on the Stockton route. The legend above the name on the paddle-box is "U.S. Mail." We reproduce a small Section of the counterpart of Section E of the California Historical Society original as Plate 4. Severe damage by coarse scratching, slight damage by fine scratching, and some discoloration are visible. Also visible under a strong magnifying glass are all kinds of architectural details of the houses ranging up the slope of Nob Hill in the background that are totally lost in the Behrman copy.

Only a general idea of the difference in quality and the importance of the comparative prints as documents can be gained in looking at our printed reproduction, as the half-tone dot pattern limits detail. But in the good copy print of the original it can be seen that the window shutters of the standardized prefabricated cottages in the foreground have 27 louvres, separated into two groups of 13 by the central cross-brace. More important, it can be seen, rather than deduced, that the row of cottages in the foreground have vertical board-and-batten siding. But not all of them appear of the same manufacture; in the second row, one house has the perennially popular wide horizontal shiplap, while the two-story house next to it has the narrow horizontal lapstrake that was particularly popular in California houses of about this size around 1900. The house in the center about a half-block away has a shed-roofed addition that has board-and-batten siding similar to the house; however, the boards are wider, which suggests that it was not pieced up out of material shipped with the houses.

A description of the full 360-degree scene (with supporting detail from the clear "twin" partial panorama and Coast Survey chart) is in order. As mentioned above, the cameraman stood atop the sand ridge at the center of Howard Street a few feet west of First Street--at the point of the "60" on Map I. The more eye-catching part of the scene

is of course the cove east of First Street, seen in the panel including sections F through K. First Street can be seen running through all of these sections, from Market Street at the left to Folsom Street and Rincon Hill at the right. Beginning with the left-hand section of this part of the panorama, some of the notable features or details are:

F--The two-story building in the foreground is on Mellus (later Natoma), at First Street: It advertised groceries, and probably had lodgings on the second floor. The row of stores a block beyond was on Mission Street; their signs read "Peoples Market," "Cottage Content," "Ocean House," and "Happy Valley Market." This may have been the store described by S. S. Smith in a letter from San Francisco dated April 28, 1850:

Dear Friend--I used to write two and three times a year but now I am so far away and in the country where so many tons of letters are written that I must write oftener--I suppose you have talked over "I wonder what he is about" so now I will tell you. I have a regular Grocery Store with one corner parted off in which there is a good bed and where I sleep as sound as one needs to--I have a partner in the profits of this--he stays there the whole day and I am there a part of the day--just as it happens, having what time I want to attend to my individual affairs. The building is about 10 feet from the water and one side is a pile of boards and the other a pile of shingles. It is at the foot of Mission in "Happy Valley" which is on the side of the city where most people live in tents--I think I never had it easier in my life. We have a tent where we cook and eat. As to my getting rich or poor, I shall write nothing as time may tell a different story (Smith 1955: 68).

The multistoried building with porticoes in the middle distance was the Oriental Hotel, at the juncture of Bush, Battery, and Market streets. The large expanse of white roof, to the right of First Street, and in line with the signal building atop Telegraph Hill, was the U.S. Bonded Warehouse on the south side of Market Street opposite Front Street that is marked by a "D" on Map I.

G--The Pacific Iron Foundry appears at the left, between First Street and the water, with the Vulcan Foundry to the right of it. The Market Street Wharf is almost obscured by the line of shipping, but buildings constructed on pilings alongside the wharf can be glimpsed here and there.

H--This gap between two remaining sand knobs represented the end of Howard Street--indeed, the only "graded" section of Howard to be found. As can be seen, the view was made at low tide. The shipping was in all states of use and disuse. Most of the ships in this section of the panorama (except those anchored far out) were laid up--that is, still rigged and available to put to sea again if a charter offered. First appearances can be deceiving: The little brig in the center foreground, heeled over in the mud, might seem an abandoned vessel. But, unlike nearly all the other vessels, her sails are still bent to her yards (neatly furled), and the skiff of the master or ship-keeper is seen floating near her bow; she would have been a handy little vessel for coastwise work and may have been back at sea before most of the other ships in the view.

I--As the camera swings to Rincon Point, a hulk turned into a house in the middle of the cove is the most conspicuous landmark. Beyond it are rigged-down ships, perhaps not even serviceable as storeships. Charles Hare, the shipbreaker, was already operating at Rincon Point, and a couple of vessels on the other side of the white steamboat next to the shore may have been waiting for his wrecking crews.

J--Together with Section I, this part of the panorama gives a lively impression of the activity at Rincon Point. The Sutter House, a hotel, was the large white building at the center of Section J. To the left of it was a blacksmith's works that became the Sutter Iron Works by the time of a slightly later panorama. Not only shipwrecking, but ship repair and shipbuilding--including construction of steamboats shipped knocked-down from the East--went on at various points along the shore of Happy Valley and Rincon Point. Immediately below the Sutter House, one can see the embankment that is the result of grading of Folsom Street down to the shoreline at Rincon Point.

K--The termination of First Street at the newlygraded intersection with Folsom is the most obvious feature of this section of the panorama. The legend "St. Marys Hospital" does not refer to the building visible on Rincon Hill, but to the later site (actually on the other side of the ridge) of this landmark. This section is the right end of this old framed panorama that we happened across recently in a storeroom of

the San Francisco Maritime Museum, where it had not been previously noted as containing four sections that distinguished it from similar framed or loose sets of otherwise identical appearance. The notation "Copy I" is provocative. It is hard to believe that Behrman did not sell duplicates of this full 360-degree set; alternatively, we have seen no others, and why would this one have "Copy I" not painted on the print, but scratched into the emulsion (hence the trouble with the backward "S" and "N")?

Sections F through K, showing the fascinating "foreground" of the South of Market in 1852, when the waters of Yerba Buena Cove lapped the shoreline along First Street and the beginnings of industrial San Francisco occupied the beach lots of Happy Valley and Rincon Point, provide the setting of the visually duller development in the hollows and on the sand hills ranging eastward into the Yerba Buena Center area. The laid-up ships and young industries also visually explain a good part of the reason for the inland settlement and the basis for its subsequent growth.

Sections A through E show the inland sweep from about 100 yards east of First and Folsom (see Section K) to a point about 150 feet east of First and Natoma streets.

A and B--

This settlement at the foot of Rincon Hill was known locally as "Pleasant Valley." The house in the foreground did not mark the line at First Street, as Behrman had indicated, but one of two narrow north-south cross streets laid out through a tier of blocks between First and Second streets. Like the east-west alleys (Jessie, Minna, Clementina, etc.), these streets were not part of the original city surveys, but a response on the part of the owners of these great 100-vara lots to the challenge of maximum subdivision; what they lost through dedicating narrow strips to the city they more than gained through multiplying frontage feet. The east-west alleys still persist in a more-or-less regular pattern, but north-south alleys are scattered in various blocks.

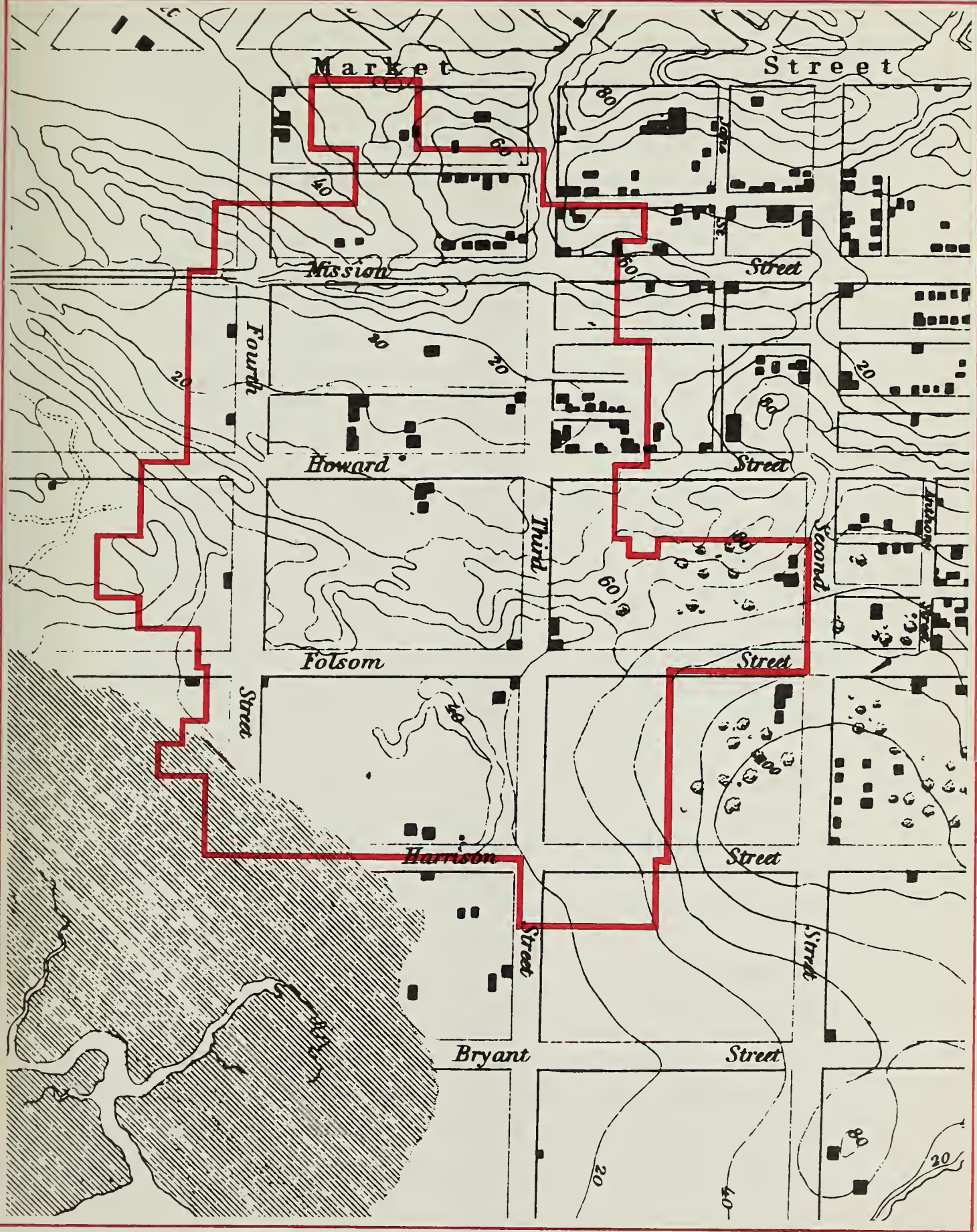
The house in the foreground is at the corner of Tehama Street (marked by the fence line extending to the right in Section B) and a

projected street called Ecker on one 1853 city map. The twin of this prefabricated dwelling, at the end of the fence along Tehama (Section B), was at the corner of Anthony Street. Beyond it, the line of white fencing across Section B indicates the line of Second Street. In the background of Section B is the large, but starkly plain, residence of H. W. Halleck, near Folsom and Second streets. To the right of it is a windmill, probably supplying water to the cluster of houses at Third and Folsom (see Map I or IA). At the far right of Section B are two houses on Second Street at the eastern edge of Eastern Block 3, described in the report on that block.

C--The line of Second Street is shown approximately correctly on this section of the panorama; the street would have passed behind all of the little shacks seen in the hollow. The line of Howard Street is directly toward the word "Twin" in the legend "Twin Peaks," between two 80-foot sand hills. The houses seen under the word "Peaks" were on Eastern Block 2, but the large cluster of buildings on this block that can be seen on the 1852 chart (Map IA) east of Third and north of Howard streets was hidden in a hollow immediately beyond.

D--This section, and Section E, show the plethora of prefabricated houses in Happy Valley proper. Not only did the immediate introduction of the small streets through the original large South of Market blocks presage the technique of later speculators in subdividing residential developments into the smallest lots the market would accept, but the houses themselves were the prototypical "Ticky-tacky Boxes," shipped in crates and bundles from New England mills. The row in the foreground, together with the row of smaller identical cottages in Section E, marked the line of Natoma Street, between Second and First streets. On the Coast Survey Chart (Map IA) these two groups of five dwellings each do not appear at all identical, but most of the differences in shape can be accounted for by the lean-to type additions of the sort seen attached to the backs of a number of the prefabricated houses visible in sections of the panorama.

In Section D, a particularly interesting find is "Howard's Row," a group of four particularly fancy prefabs located on the north side of Mission Street, immediately west of Third (on Central Block 1). These



Map 1-A: Yerba Buena Center, 1852;
 Detail from U.S. Coast Survey Chart.



houses occupied a bench out into the high sand hill between Mission and Market, and are the white buildings in the far left background of Section D. Each of these houses had three "gingerbread" dormers fronting the second story, with a porch supported by six columns running the width of the front. The California Historical Society collection includes a little clutch of rent receipts from this row for about this period; Captain J. L. Folsom, already becoming a paper millionaire in San Francisco real estate, occupied one; Jessie Fremont, wife of "The Pathfinder"--the only early Gold Rush millionaire who accumulated his gold directly from the ownership of mining properties--occupied another. The rent was \$50 a month--which sounds like a rate that W. D. M. Howard must have established as a favor to his special friends.

The roof of at least one of the three houses on Map IA that lay east of Third Street on Eastern Block I may be visible, but the 60-foot sand hill in the middle of Mission Street just east of Howard's Row obscures the view. In the center background of Section D, a graded portion of Third Street appears as a light-colored embankment disappearing into a cut, the 80 to 90 foot sand ridge along Market Street. This was the route of the new Mission Plank Road, that turned right at the corner marked by Howard's Row and was fit for passage of city-bred wheeled traffic to the Mission Dolores area.

E--Together with sections D and F, this portion of the panorama gives a good impression of the overall appearance of Happy Valley as a residential suburb at the peak of the Gold Rush. The tents of '49 and '50 were gone--though a few shacks near First Street had canvas roofs. Indeed, First Street and Rincon Point look like the Gold Rush San Francisco that one expects to see.

But Happy Valley itself--between Market and Howard streets, and from Howard's Row at Third Street almost to First Street--is something that does not come visually to mind from the reading of contemporary comments regarding houses imported from the East or from the descriptions of the area as a residential quarter presented by later historians. It is a scene of identical houses, identically spaced, with

identical shutters and identical picket fences. To the degree that the best prints from the best versions of this panorama are greatly enlarged or magnified, the impression of a fairly well-done World War II housing development for some desert installation (with houses suited to different family sizes and occupational rank) grows on one.

Gold Rush Building Sites of Present Archaeological Potential

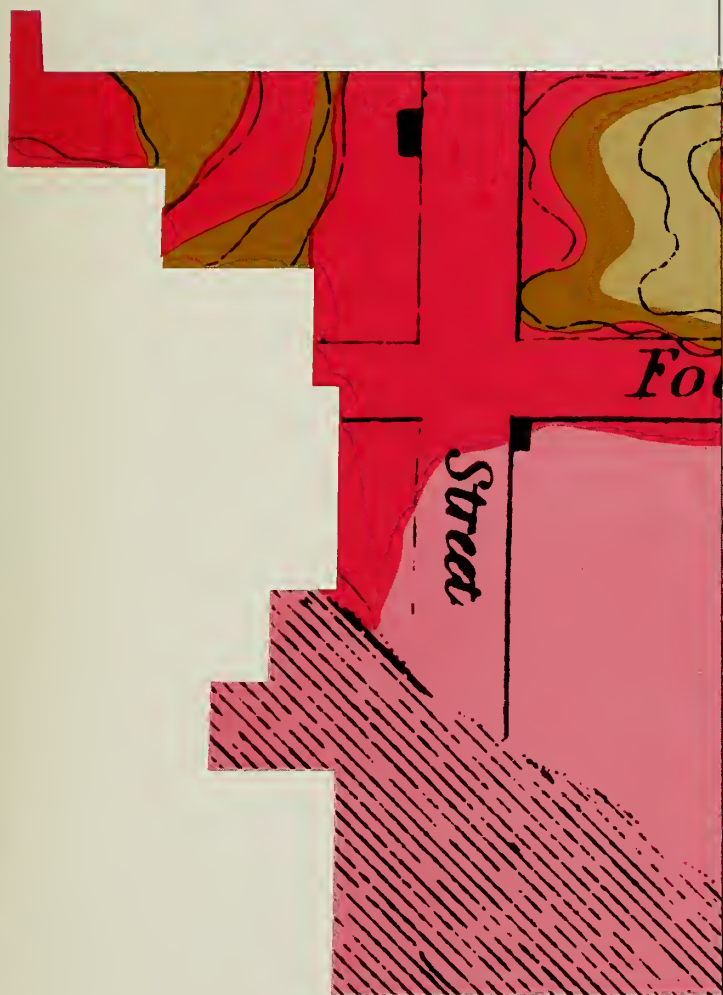
As noted in the earlier discussion of the natural site, the 1852 Coast Survey Chart of San Francisco shows the Yerba Buena Center topography in very nearly its American pre-contact state. As the area was characterized in large part by sand hills and hollows, the cutting and filling involved in producing the present grade levels had different impact in different areas. A graphic representation of some of the key impact information is found in Map IB, which provides the following information:

1. 1852 contours and structures photographically enlarged from the original 1/10,000 scale chart to approximately 200 feet to the inch. ("Approximately" is used because of slight distortion problems discussed in the following sections.)

2. The approximate intersection line of present surface grade with the surface grade in 1852. This line may be described as showing the points where a button dropped on the ground in 1852 could still be theoretically lying on the surface today.

3. The approximate intersection of the line of points 8 feet below the 1852 grade with the present surface grade. This line shows where something buried to that depth in 1852 might theoretically be found at about the surface level today; more practically, the area between this line and the line of surface intersection identifies sometimes broad areas where deposits of cultural materials in old privies, small dumps, or the like may still exist. The 8-foot figure is of course arbitrary, but represents a reasonable point beyond which ordinary probability would sharply decline.

4. The approximate intersection of a line of points 8 feet below present grade with the surface level in 1852. This line shows the area



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ade levels:

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ore than 8-feet

s than 8-feet deep

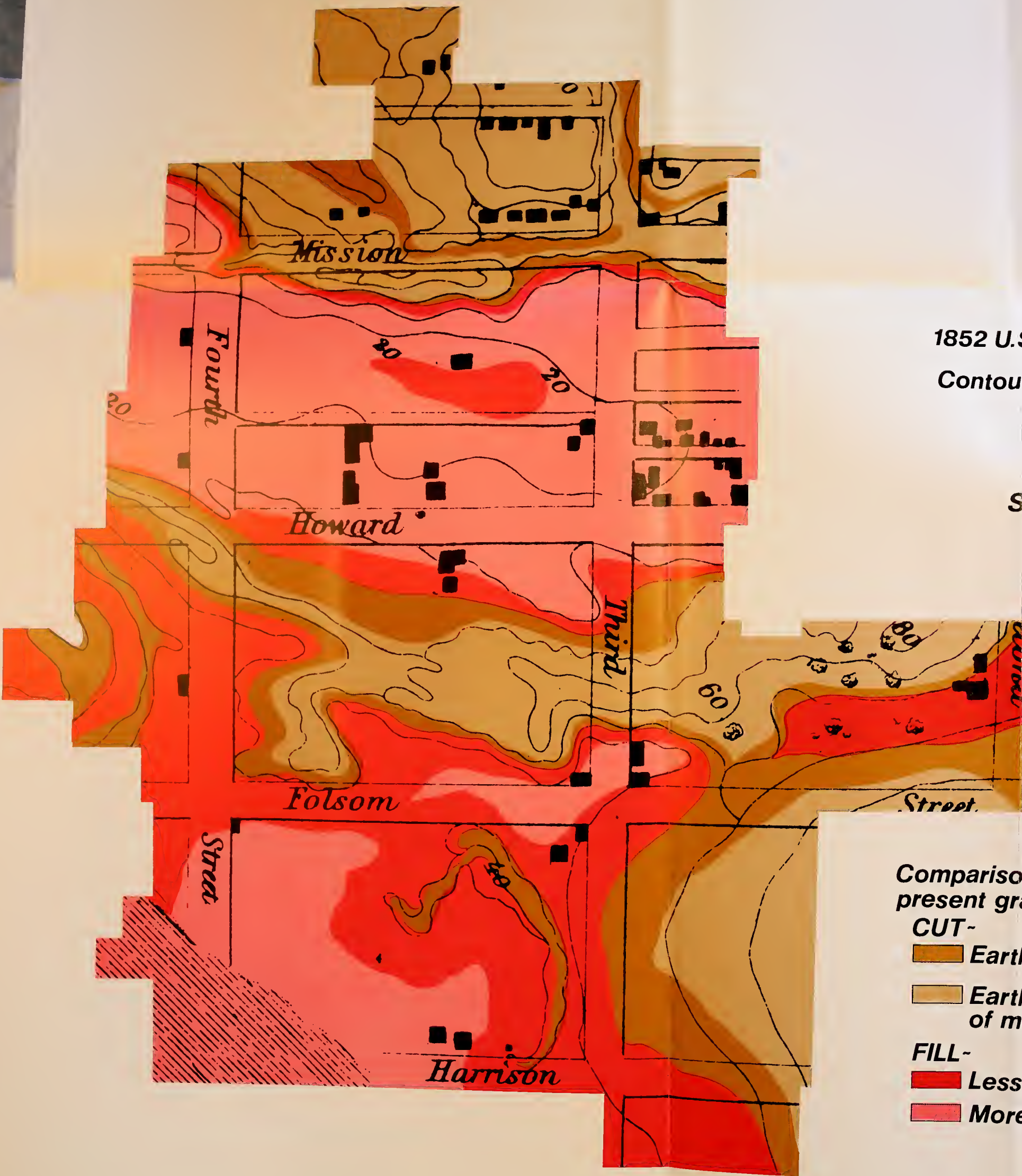
e than 8-feet deep

Map 1-b

1852 U.S. COAST SURVEY
Contours at 20-ft intervals

YBC

Scale: 200' = 1"



Comparison with
present grade levels:

CUT-

 Earth removed

 Earth removed to a depth
of more than 8-feet

FILL-

 Less than 8-feet deep

 More than 8-feet deep

in which any subsequent basement excavation is apt to have removed materials at or within a foot or two of the surface in 1852. Again, the 8-foot figure is arbitrary, but it is a point of distinction between shallow basements frequently characteristic of earlier residential structures, which had "half-basements," and more modern commercial structures, which when they had basements usually had a first floor at street grade level, with the basement excavation being 10-15 feet deep. The area between this "8-foot-basement" line and the line of surface intersection is useful when used in conjunction with the basement excavation maps that have been prepared. This line was introduced because it was found that some areas of the YBC that contained buildings of 1852 were very substantially below present grade level in the Gold Rush years--in some cases more than 8 feet, in some cases as much as 12-15 feet or more. Thus, subsequent basement excavations may or may not have removed deposits of cultural materials, depending on the exact location and subsequent basement depth.

Naturally, these lines on Map 1B cannot be exact. The base map of 1852 had 20-foot contour intervals, and these could not have been laid down with exquisite precision. But it is equally obvious that large areas of high elevations have been removed completely and that many subsequent basement excavations further had the local result of total impact on previous resources. Thus, our inability to measure perfectly is no excuse for measuring not at all, and the contours on Map 1B should be most helpful in excluding fruitless consideration of archaeological possibilities in areas of no (or scant) resource probability.

Grading subsequent to the almost "natural" conditions of 1852 proceeded as the area developed during the later Gold Rush period of the 1850's, as can be seen by comparison with Maps 2 and 2A (of 1857). Depressed business conditions in San Francisco after 1854-55 limited development during the remainder of the decade, though building did go on, and we cannot be sure whether or not building was slightly more or slightly less active in the YBC area than in the rest of the city. In any case, both general descriptions of city development and direct

census and city directory data for the YBC indicated that a large wave of new development started around 1860-61. We have no reliable maps showing the state of leveling and building in the early 1860's, but a fine birdseye view of the city that we have found in the past to be remarkably reliable in showing both general development and even specific buildings was published in 1864. This Gifford print (Plate 19) shows the YBC area all graded to what appears to be the general state at the time of the 1869 Coast Survey chart. Thus, we feel it is safe to say that nearly all of the YBC area was graded to approximately its present level in the early 1860's. (An exception would be parts of the eastern section on the slope of Rincon Hill, where intermittent activity as late as the 1930's resulted in cutting down levels here and there from time to time.) A brief sketch of the grading impact of the 1850's and early '60's follows below.

Most of the Central Block 1 of 1852 succumbed to the ministrations of Hewes and his steam paddy, leaving little of the historical surface behind except a finger of color extending along Mission more than half-way and then turning to the north. All of the building sites appearing on the map were leveled by 1864, including the famous Howard's Row, the block of four houses just north of Mission. The same story of grading can be told about Western Block 1, where only a small finger of present-day geography remains from the old contours. Considerable grading had taken place on Third Street to Mission and on Mission Street by 1852.

The case of Central Block 2 is radically different from CB-1. Practically the entire area was low lying and had to be filled to bring it up to the modern level. The lowest parts of the block were the stretches along Mission and Howard, with the highest terrain located in the center. The area just south of Mission and divided by Third Street, was sometimes flooded in heavy rains. This accounts for the paucity of buildings in that particular locale. The higher and dryer locations had some buildings, and it can be presumed that the remains of the foundations plus other artifacts of the Gold Rush era have been filled over and that they are still there. Almost the entire area is filled to such a point that only very deep basements could have impacted this site. Of particular interest and possibility for examination is the

northwest corner of Howard and Third streets, where a cluster of buildings is located. Also the buildings located about Howard Street in CB-2 may be of interest to archaeologists and historians alike. It must be emphasized here that areas of WB-2, CB-2, and EB-2 are among the most promising for archaeological investigation of Gold Rush artifacts in the entire Yerba Buena area due to the depth of fill.

Central Block 3 and Eastern Block 3 have been covered in separate reports. Recent excavations at the northwest corner of Folsom and Third have yielded artifacts, but evaluation has not yet been concluded.

An added complication to muddy the picture of possible sites for archaeological excavation is the existence of extant buildings on a modern day site. This problem will be especially relevant to the CB-4 site, with its added problem of estimating slopes leading down to a marsh. However, on the CB-2 site the problem of buildings is moot for the entire area has been razed. On Eastern Block 2, two buildings are extant and are over sites that may contain archaeological possibilities. It is beyond the scope of this report to make recommendations concerning the sinking of test borings or pits into the floors of present day buildings, but some procedure should be set up to evaluate the site at some future date when the extant buildings may be razed. An evaluation of finds in the parking lot adjoining the building located at the eastern edge of EB-2 would be most helpful in determining the presence of data under the present building, if the site is selected for archaeological testing. On WB-2, we again encounter the same problem of extant buildings over the possible site of a Gold Rush structure in the most northerly building on the west side of Fourth Street. The building to the south is located under a present parking lot and may be available as a potential site for excavation.

Turning to the most southerly blocks, there are as many as six possible areas contained in EB-4, CB-4, and WB-4 that appear to have historical archaeological possibilities from the 1852 Contour Chart.

Excluding for the moment the possibility of prehistoric sites, two features have prominence in this area. The first is Rincon Hill, which slopes rapidly to a 20-foot elevation just west of Third Street. Most

of that area has been leveled, with only a strip of an area on the western boundary of EB-4 that conforms with the present day topography. Moving further west into CB-4, a 40-foot ridge appears which has similarity with present grades. The rest of the area slopes gently into the marsh.

The areas of particular historical and archaeological interest relative to the early Gold Rush in CB-4 are five scattered structure sites. The buildings in the northeast corner have been impacted by basements, while the buildings to the south along Harrison Street are partially covered by a parking lot. The structure in the northwest corner of CB-4 has a building over it. Therefore from archival research alone, the most promising archaeological area is the region along Harrison.

Structures on the 1852 Coast Survey Chart: As mentioned above, the dimensions of the buildings in the Yerba Buena Center area as shown on the 1852 map are unreliable. This factor was specifically identified by direct photographic evidence in the course of the study of Eastern Block 3 by comparison with several houses appearing in daguerreotypes of 1852 that also appear in the Coast Survey, where the observable height of the houses was found to be inconsistent with length and breadth as derived from the map. Thus, the two houses on the west side of Second Street between Howard and Folsom were shown at about twice the dimensions they should have been. This exaggeration appears to have been characteristic of the drafting to the degree that structures were isolated. Comparison of houses in a row of prefabricated imported cottages on Natoma near First Street shows good agreement between 1852 Coast Survey dimensions and size as both observed and calculated from the photographs. Within the YBC area, the structures in the cluster on the southern part of EB-2 probably scale approximately to actual size; on the other hand, the two large, somewhat "L"-shaped buildings between Natoma and Howard on CB-2 are vastly oversized (and appear cut down to proper size on the 1857 map).

If dimensions of buildings in the Yerba Buena Center area are mostly unreliable, there may also be question as to exact locations,

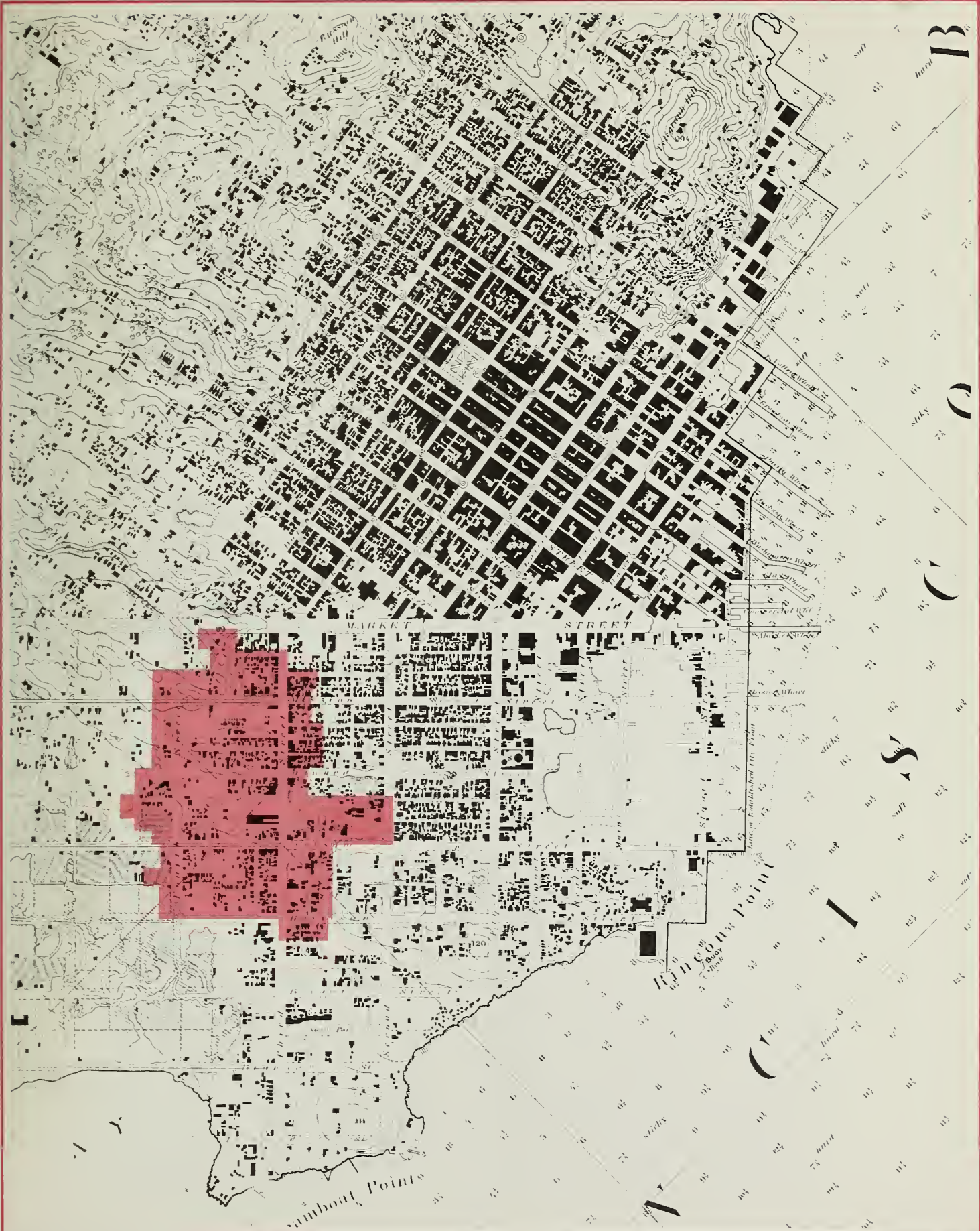
except in the case of corner sites. On this point we can only compare the 1852 chart with the 1857, in the cases that the same buildings occur. In the case of the pair of buildings between Natoma and Howard mentioned above--which are easily identifiable by their shapes and relative positions on the 1857 chart--measurement from Third Street to the center lines of structures shows a discrepancy of less than 5 feet over a distance of more than 550 feet. This is equivalent to no error at all, given the original scale of the maps; the thickness of the heavy lines bordering the north sides of the blocks, fattened slightly by photo-enlargement, is nearly 5 feet. Not all sample comparisons would prove so close, and the addition of wings and outbuildings to structures between the survey dates often makes it impossible to find points for such direct comparison.

What all of this means, from the standpoint of such precise matters as sinking borings or small test pits for archaeological purposes, is that errors on the order of 10 to 20 feet (or even greater) may occur easily if only one measurement is taken to one side of a building from one street line; that the 1857 map should be used in conjunction with the 1852 map when possible; and that a fresh scale should be made for any particular block on the map actually being used for the measurements. This last point is necessary because of distortion in the original maps that were available, presumably distortion in the original survey or engraving: the streets are not necessarily exactly parallel. Also, there is apt to be distortion resulting from the reproduction properties of the material the map is printed on.

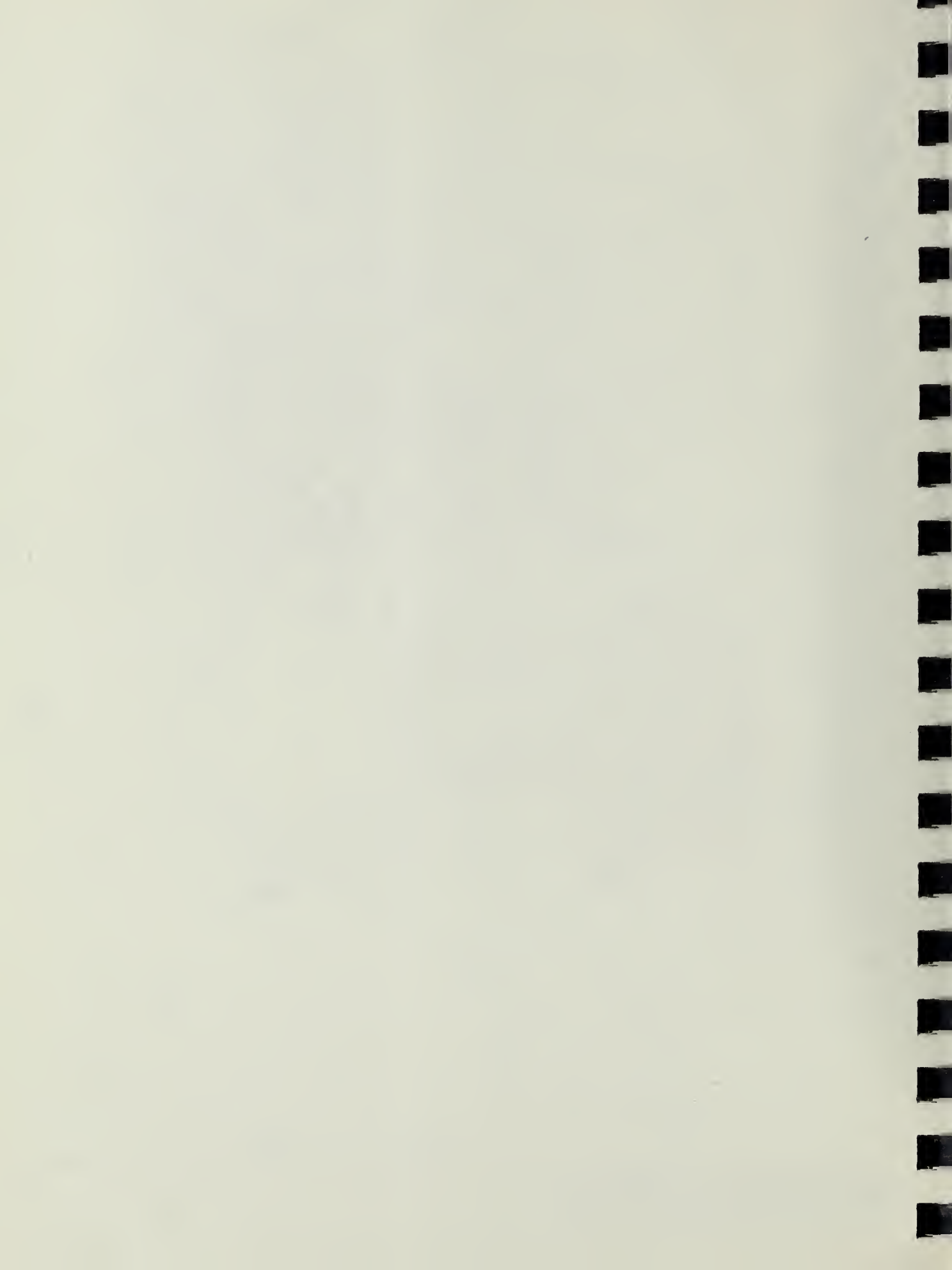
If all of these **caveats** lead one to suggest, "Why not work all these difficulties out in the back room and present redrawn maps that take care of the problems scientifically?" the answer is that the correction of one modest deficiency may aggravate another--perhaps one that is not even perceived at the time the redrafting takes place. It would finally be found, as in the case of an important but apparently slightly garbled manuscript source, that it would be most satisfactory to carefully copy each and every distortion, dot, or blemish--with the result that

the sole improvement (achieved at great cost) would be avoidance of the "fattening up" of the lines and shapes that has occurred as the result of photographic reproduction.

The scales given on this and other maps are for convenience in general use, but should be recalculated for best results relative to specific locations. The blocks of 100-vara lots in the YBC area measured 555.55 feet by 833.33 feet. One should be alert for anomalies. Fourth Street was laid out wider than Second and Third on the 1852 map (the extra width at the expense of the eastern edge of the western blocks); Minna Street, too, was reduced in width by 1857. In locating sites on maps of much later date, it will frequently be seen that property lines have shown astonishing longevity and are useful in rationalizing what appear to be slight discrepancies between maps.



Map 2: San Francisco in 1857; from U.S. Coast Survey published in 1859.



Chapter VI

THE GOLDEN ERA . . . 1853-1860

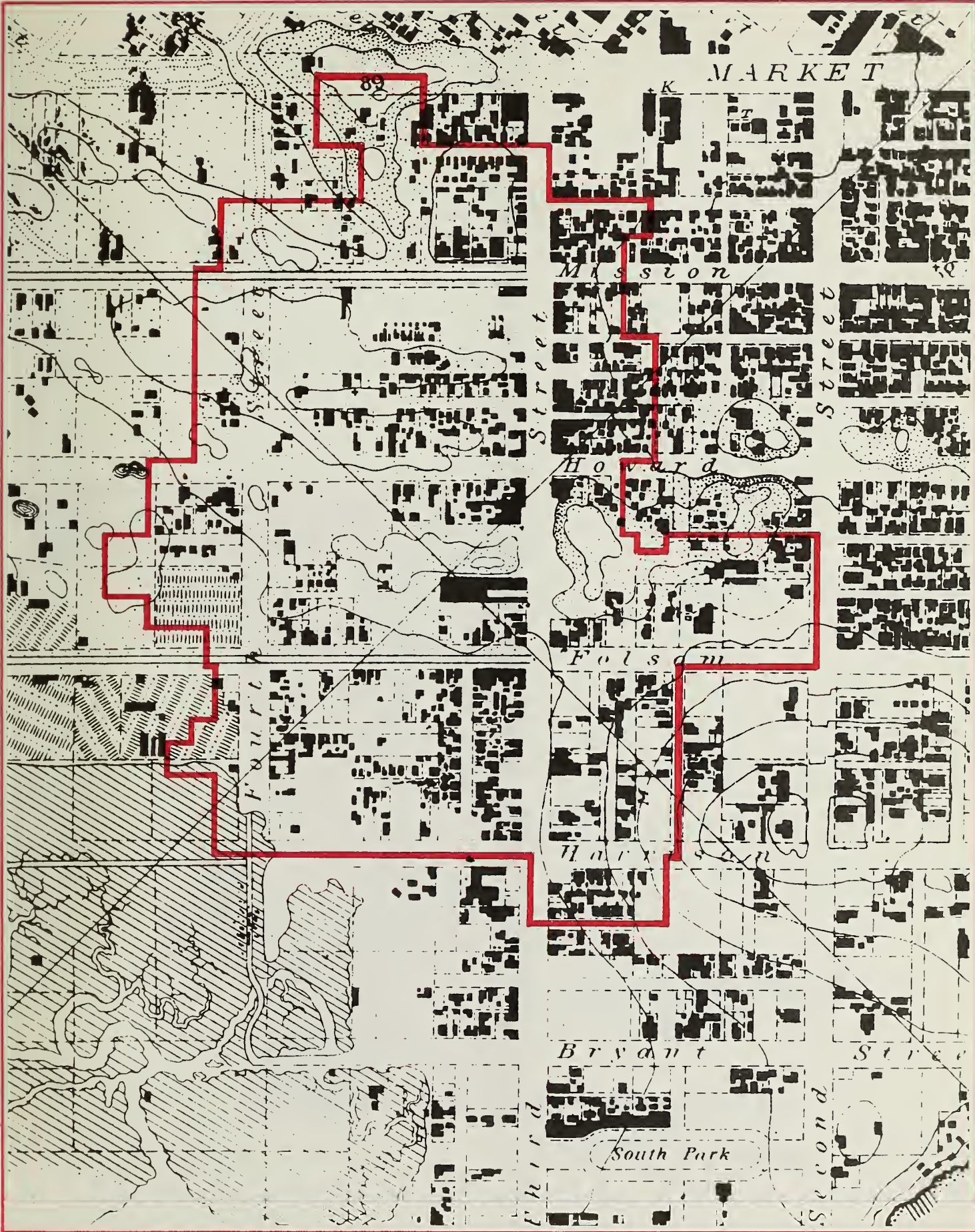
The period of the 1850's following the peak in gold output in the Sierra Placers themselves (1852), and the peak in gold export, commercial activity, and speculation in land and buildings (1853), that J.S. Hittell called "The Golden Era in Decline." We, too, might have used this title—but as we are concerned primarily with the physical and social changes in the South of Market area in general and the Yerba Buena Center site in particular, we find reason for a slight change in emphasis. The state of development in the Yerba Buena Center area early in 1852, as described in detail in the previous chapter, represented the point at which numerous houses had been erected as the result in the extraordinarily rapid growth of San Francisco, as well as the point at which only the first steps had been taken toward significant alteration of the topography. The Mission Plank Road had been built, but aside from this, we found a picture of a newly-settled district in which no radical grading had yet taken place. Such conditions are obviously of particular archaeological interest, as areas later filled to some depth present the potential for archaeological sites that may have remained undisturbed by successive building activities.

The booming economy of San Francisco during the rest of 1852 and through all of 1853 wrought great physical change to the city, turning it into some semblance of other settled American cities of the second rank—although with such local anomalies as the absence of trees. As described in **The Edge of Rincon Hill—Eastern Block Three**, evidence from such sources as the letters of banker William T. Sherman (a resident of Rincon Hill) indicates that there may have been greater "overshoot" to

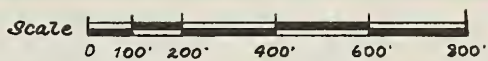
the Gold Rush boom than is suggested by the commentary in the *Annals*, Hittell's *History*, and other standard sources that point to economic reversals in 1854 leading to widespread business failures in 1855. Building, at least of some kinds and in the area south of Market Street, seems to have been active through 1854, and perhaps well into '55.

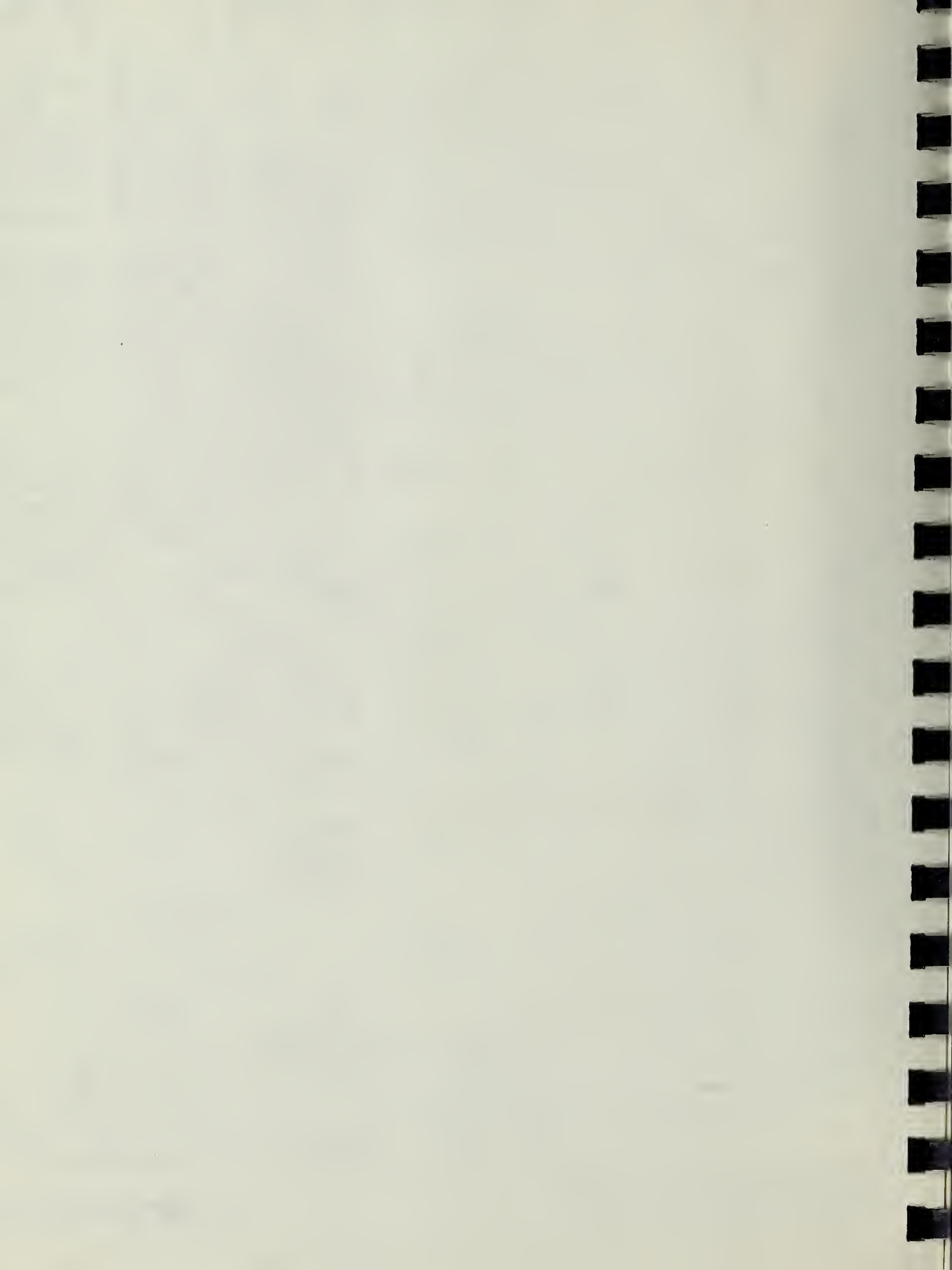
South of Market construction between early 1852 and 1855 radically altered the face of the area. The grading of Third Street through to Steamboat Point and the beginning of omnibus operations between the new and elegant South Park residential promotion and North Beach, the building of the Folsom Plank Road, the enclosure of the cove by building Stuart Street on piles from the Market Street Wharf to Rincon Point, the construction of industrial facilities up to the size of the gas works at First and Howard, and extensive grading associated with the construction of hundreds of new shops and dwellings proceeded actively through 1854, and certainly at least well into 1855. A daguerreian panorama of 1854, looking northward from Folsom and First Street, shows the area from east of Second Street to Stuart Street; it was made, in all probability, to show the grand new brick gas works and the bridging of the cove by Stuart Street, for a widely circulated lettersheet was obviously engraved from this (or an identical) daguerreian view. Photographs made by Fardon in 1856 show that some further grading of the sand hills between Second and Third Street had continued and that some new construction had taken place. However, the similarities in the 1854 and 1856 photographs are more striking than the differences, and it seems reasonable to conclude that depression in the mid-1850's did arrest substantial development.

Thus, the 1857 Coast Survey Chart of the city (Map 2) shows us development South of Market that had mainly taken place by 1855. A chart was issued again in 1859, but we can find no additions or modifications other than addition of soundings in the bay and a line indicating the approved waterfront limit. The 1857 and 1859 charts do not identify the date of the topographic survey, but reference to the Annual Report of the Coast Survey in the Congressional Documents series indicated that the topographic team was at work on the city survey in the spring and summer of 1857, and that the work had probably been completed (engraved?) as of the November, 1857, submission of the report (U.S. Coast Survey 1858: 111, 112).



Map 2-A: Yerba Buena Center, 1857;
Detail from U.S. Coast Survey Chart.







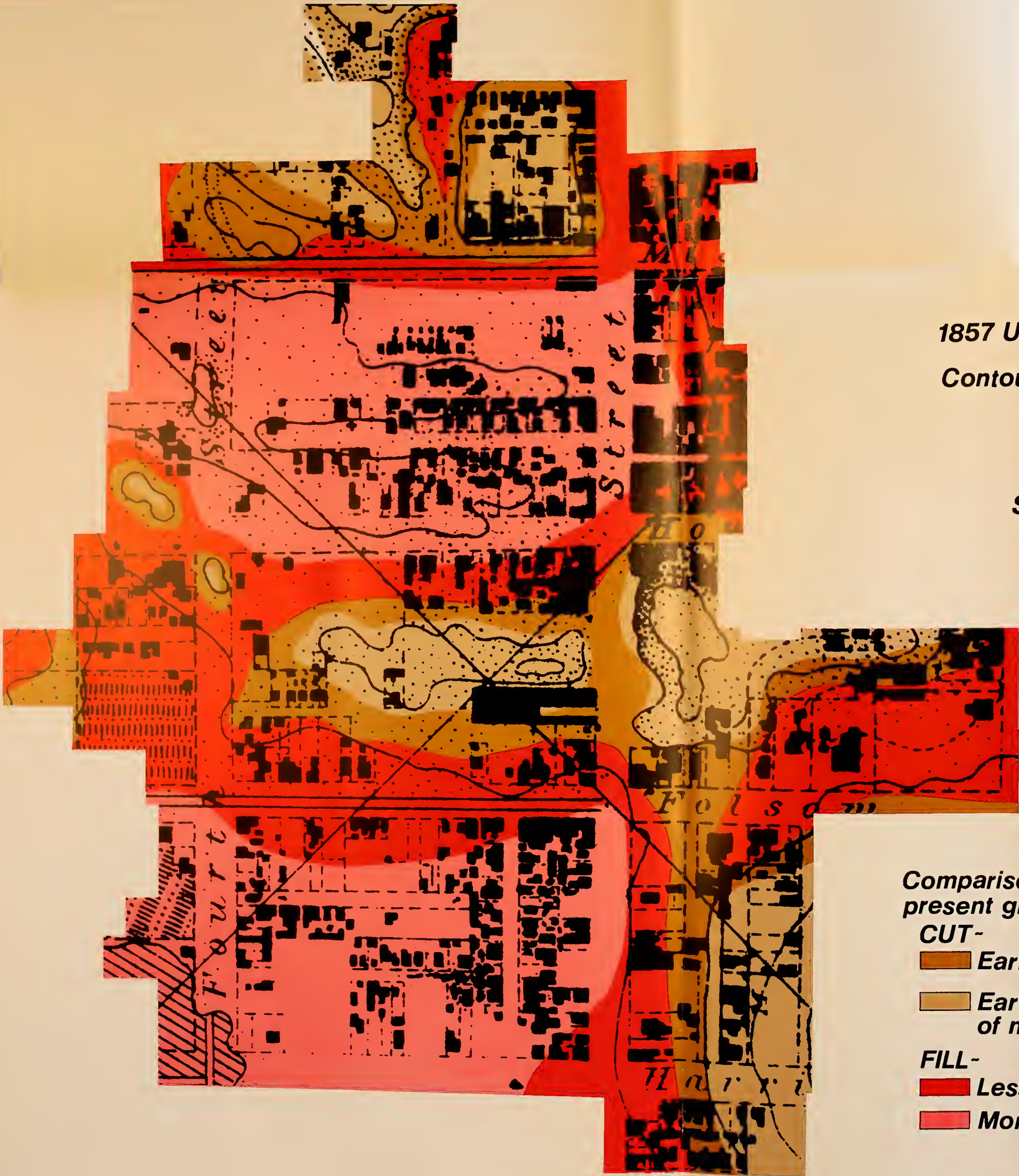
*n with
ade levels:*

n removed

*n removed to a depth
ore than 8-feet*

than 8-feet deep

e than 8-feet deep



Map 2-b

1857 U.S. COAST SURVEY
Contours at 20-ft intervals

YBC

Scale: 200' = 1"

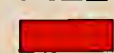
Comparison with
present grade levels:

CUT-

 Earth removed

 Earth removed to a depth
of more than 8-feet

FILL-

 Less than 8-feet deep

 More than 8-feet deep

Not only may the Coast Survey chart data of 1857 be taken as showing the general state of development of as much as two years earlier, but it may also be taken as showing the general condition of a couple of years later, for the rate of development and change from 1855 through 1859 must certainly have been slow, given the very depressed state of building construction. But a new era of boom was gathering in 1859. Maps 2, 2A, and 2B treat the 1857 survey chart in a manner similar to the 1852 survey. Map 2B shows the same contour analysis relative to 1857 as Map 1B does relative to 1852. Close examination of Map 2B, and comparison with Map 1B, will show the impact of development far better than extended verbal description here. This 1857 chart has been very useful in conjunction with analysis of the 1860 U.S. Census data. The evidence of the census and of city directories shows that many new buildings had been added by 1860—but it was in the period 1861-1864 that a truly great wave of building, street improvement, and earthmoving changed the Yerba Buena Center Area to a configuration similar to its present-day grade.

The Gathering Boom . . . 1859-1861

In 1859, this--the metropolis of the Pacific--numbers in population over 78,000 souls, and can boast of an assessment roll of more than \$30,000,000. . . . The ordeal through which San Francisco has passed, has been severe and without example in the history of cities. The discovery of gold in 1848, gave an impetus to emigration from which San Francisco derived, in so short a period, the title of city. Her growth was sudden; there was no *infancy* to her history. An existence of only ten years has given her rank among the cities of the world; and after passing through the fiery ordeal and financial abuses and disasters, she is now in her onward march to wealth and greatness (Langley 1859: 16).

Two great surveys have been brought together to enhance our understanding of the history of the Yerba Buena Center: the U.S. Coast Survey Chart of 1857 and the Federal Census of San Francisco for Ward 10 in the year 1860. Map 2C shows the removal of the big sand hill (in 1853-54) that marked the site of present-day New Montgomery Street, and shows the next hill, 89 feet high, blocking Market Street from Third to past Fourth Street.

The census revealed that **David Hewes**, the new owner of the celebrated **Steam Paddy**, was living at 234 Stevenson Street in the summer of 1860. The census taker counted 32 Irish laborers boarding together with two Chinese. The laborers ranged in age from 19 to 48 and included Dolan, Learly, Doyle, Nelson, and Mooney--not to forget Ah Sing and Ah Cow. Hewes, the boss of the gang, was 33, and had been born in Massachusetts. The census lists his personal wealth in the summer of 1860 at \$25,000 in real estate and \$4,000 in personal effects. Whether that included his Steam Paddy, we do not know. He had purchased it from James Cunningham in 1858 for \$42,000 "on very easy terms and payable out of the profits of the contracts that Hewes could obtain . . . Contractor Hewes tells the story:

I commenced the work of grading Market Street at the corner of Third and Market, where a hill was nearly as high as the present Call Building, in the fall of 1858. I also proceeded, on the same plan, with the work of grading Market Street and filling in water lots on the south side of Market from Fremont to Steuart, which was the east line of the bay south of Market street. When this was done, I began filling in the Bay on the north side of Market street from Battery down to East, taking the material from Market Street between Third and Fourth, and the sand hills between Market and Mission. When this was completed, I took up my track and laid it down Fourth Street, from Market to King Street, filling Fourth and lots on the east and west side (Wheelan Jan., 1928: 15).

Plate 6 shows the famous San Francisco steam shovel and railroad car combination at work at about Eighth and Harrison in the early 1860's. Hewes is one of the 2 top-hatted gentlemen in front of the carriage in this posed photograph. Surveyors stand in the foreground and the working Irish crew pose on the big steam shovel that Hittell noted, ". . . at one move would dig up a cubic yard of sand or gravel (or nearly twice as much as could be hauled by a single horse and a cart) and then swing it round by a crane over a railway car into which the load was discharged. The steam paddy was at work from 1852 till 1854, and from 1858 till 1873 almost constantly, sometimes moving two thousand five hundred tons a day, and for a while two were employed. The steam shovel could not work anywhere save in sand, but there were five thousand acres of it that needed leveling . . ." (Hittell 1878: 438).

The Market Street sand hill spread over the center of Central Block I, between Third and Fourth streets. Accordingly, the structures seen



Plate 6: The Steam Paddy . . . D. Hewes, San Francisco's greatest practical leveler, poses with his workmen and associates in front of the steam shovel-and-dinky-train system that spread the sandhills north and south of market into Yerba Buena Cove and Mission Bay. This picture was made next to the sugar refinery at Eighth and Harrison in about 1868, some time after the steam paddy had done its work on part of the Yerba Buena Center. (Bancroft Library)



on the Coast Survey Map were clustered along the Third Street corridor. A low, sometimes flooded, spot had yet to be completely filled on Central Block 2, between Mission and the line of Minna. This sometime lake accounts for the building of shops and dwellings along the western side of Third rather than the east. Just north of the **Omnibus Stables** (220 Third Street) was a 60-foot sand hill and across Third Street the contours of this interrupted hill rose from 40 to 60 feet on Eastern Block 3. This saddle-like sand ridge continued past Second Street towards First. Rincon Hill sloped upward from Howard and Folsom toward Second and Harrison streets. The larger homes, built by men of considerable substance, such as **Bissell** and **Parrott** (638 and 628 Folsom), **Senator Gwin** (616 Harrison), and **Bishop Kip** and **General Halleck** (328 and 326 Second Street), were well placed on the rises and slopes of the hill with views towards the city and bay. The smaller homes were clustered in rows on the narrow back streets of Minna, Sherwood, Hunt, and Annie.

Fourth Street was virtually unpopulated as compared to Third in 1857. The salt marsh extended from Bryant to Harrison to Clara near the southwestern edge of the Yerba Buena Center. On the southwest corner of Fourth and Folsom was the **Golden Gate Nursery**, with long rectangular structures that were possibly lathehouses or greenhouses built out over the V-shaped rows of plants. On Western Block 3 (west of Fourth and between Howard and Folsom) **Pat Campbell** was running a feed store on the corner at 230 Fourth Street. The straight-planted rows may have been feed for the horse population of San Francisco, but more likely they were the vegetable gardens whose produce brought high prices in the mid-1850's. Even potatoes, raised in Bolinas, were then considered a luxury, as was Marin County butter.

As can be seen by Map 2C—which is enlarged from Map 2—the growing population of San Francisco was spreading out from the waterfront and the commercial centers. What would be more natural than that people should seek out land that was less expensive than the lots north of Market Street, and at the same time offered the amenities of a warmer climate, protected from the ocean wind? **Rincon Hill**—with its splendid views of the southern part of the bay—already anticipated upper-class neighborhoods with names borrowed from English countrysides: **Vernon Place**, **Hawthorne**, **Hampton Place**, and **Stanley Place**. **South Park**, whose

elegant oval garden can be found in Map 2, was San Francisco's attempt at creating English-style townhouses in a formal setting. Its promoter, **George Gordon**, in 1855 advertised "Parties wanting to build, can, for from \$2,800 to \$3,500, have erected a comfortable durable residence, filled with modern conveniences; gas and water pipe are laid. . . South Park furnishes the most elegant site in the City" (Shumate 1963: 3).

Still the waterfront and commercial and banking interests were the pulse of business life in San Francisco, and it should be noted that South of Market technology made access easy for both the working class and the middle class, as well as the upper class. Third Street housed the livery stables of San Francisco's first omnibus line as early as 1855. "The Omnibus Line between South Park and North Beach leaves each point every ten minutes from Third, Montgomery, Washington, and Powell Streets. The Line between Portsmouth Square and the Presidio leaves each point every hour" (Colville 1856-67: 251). In addition there were two lines between Portsmouth Square and the Mission Dolores via the planked road that was Mission Street, and the other planked road, Folsom Street. By 1860, **John Gardner**, **Patrick Hunt**, and **S. Bowman** had formed the "**North Beach and South Park Omnibuses, the City and People's Opposition Lines**, with omnibuses leaving every five minutes from these points from 8 am to 10 pm." Fares had dropped from 50¢ to 10¢. And the Yerba Buena Center became the center of San Francisco's first working mass-transit system (Langley 1860: 67).

The Coast Survey Map of 1857 shows the double line along Mission Road and Folsom Road that indicated that both roads were planked from Third Street to the west. There was good reason for planking, for both roads were laid over land that was marshy and required good footing for the horse-drawn carriages and omnibuses.

San Francisco Ordinance #303 (Mun. R. 1852-54: 28) was passed in November of 1850 granting the franchise for the **Mission Plank Road**, and the work was completed--a distance of three and a quarter miles--by the following spring. For horse and a cart the toll was 50¢ and a 4-horse team cost \$1. Near the corner of Mission and Seventh the ground was so swampy as to require a bridge about a hundred yards long, but according to Hittell the plan to build the bridge on piles was abandoned, "because to the astonishment and dismay of the contractor, the first pile, forty

1860 U.S. CENSUS RESIDENCES

**Data from 1860 Census, other residences and places of business from Langley's City Directory, 1859.*

CENTRAL BLOCK ONE

Mission Street (North Side)

105-120: **Historic Howard's Home**, first large prefabricated house erected in 1851, now enlarged by 1859, listed as "Howard's Cottage" in 1859 directory.

106: John Bensely*, President, "A. J. Water Works," n.w. cor. Sacramento and Battery.

116: J.C. Huchkisson*, coal haul/coal estate (dwl.)

120: George Aeger*, commission merchant and liquorer (dwl.)

124: John McGowan, proprietor with Michael Gentry of **People's Line of Omnibusses***, 563 Market (dwl.)

126: George Dejonger, commission merchant (dwl.)

130: John Ferguson, agent and attorney, and Harvey Lee, attorney, 621 Clay Street (both dwl.)

136: Charles R. Peters*, superintendent "Battery Boarded Warehouse" and proprietor "Metropolitan Market," 22 Battery Street.

138: John Warner*, coal estate holder and commission merchant (dwl.) and Benjamin P. Price*, boot and shoe merchant with W.W. Rowenstock, cor. Soxams and Commercial.

CENTRAL BLOCK ONE

Third Street (West Side)

22: John Connor, Groceries and Liquors (at this address in 1859) 11, Beckmann, Groceries (at this address in 1861); Augustus Bamer* (dwl.) and Joseph Duband*, "Drake and Asplation Office."

26: Julius Blanchard*, confection store (work)

28: Thomas Thompson, Artesian Well bore (work); J.F. Jacques, plumber/stoves and tinware, 57 Montgomery; Louis Gammie; Jonas C. Hartman*, furniture dealer, his wife, Mrs. A. Hartman, (work & dwl.) variety store owner, his son, Charles Hartman*, blacksmith.

30: M.P. McLaughlin, butcher; Henry Lee, butcher; and Thomas Costeel, butcher (work)

32: Elizabeth O'Donnell*, dressmaker; Nathan Stearns and Ross Alexander, fruit merchants (all work & dwl.)

34: Morris Davis*, and Aaron Lola, tailors (work & dwl.)

36: James Eagen, boot and shoe maker (work & dwl.)

38: T. McElroy, gunsmith (work & dwl.)

40: **Fly House**, boarding; Eliza Staples, proprietress; Charles Albert*, (dwl.) streetman; John Holmes, D.W. Sherwood, W.C. Wyszanski, carpenters, (dwl.); William Bayless, clerk with C.J. Hinkley (dwl.)

42: George W. Udell, fruit merchant (work & dwl.)

44: J. Magee*, shoemaker (work & dwl.)

46: R. McCabe, furniture dealer (work only).

48: Mrs. G. Patton, boarding house; W.L. Huchkison and James Murphy, physicians; Isaac Newman*, dry goods merchant.

54: John and Thomas Ruffley*, dealers in grain and feed (work & dwl.)

56: George M. Compton*, cigar manufacturer (work)

58: Samuel Cary, retail clothing (work & dwl.)

68: George P. Kimball*, Kimball and Company **Carriage Makers**, s.w. cor. Market and Third; Archer Osgood, carriage painter with "Kimball and Company"; Robert Sander and E. Homan, opticians and clockists (work & dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK ONE

Stevenson Street (South Side)

209: John May, bootmaker (work)

211: Charles R. Bowen*, grocer, s.w. cor. Montgomery & California.

213: John Bell, carpet store, "Kennedy and Bell," 333 Montgomery.

217: J.T. Carter*, bookkeeper with Callahan and Satterson, imports crockery & glassware, 418 Battery Street.

219: Josiah H. Applegate*, attorney at 702 Washington Street.

221/223: Reverend F. Mooshako, Pastor Carianan Evangelical Lutheran Church (dwl.)

225: William Hammond*, gentleman's furnishings merchant, 435 Kearny.

227: William McMenamy*, laborer/drayman (dwl.); L.S. Kallscher*, capmaker, 411 Sacramento Street.

231: Charles Baettge, waterman (dwl.)

235: Eliza Jackson*, widow (appears in 1880 census still living at same address) (dwl.)

237: Francis Barraly*, butcher (dwl.)

241: Prosper Huerne*, architect and superintendent, S.F. Mission Railroad, office 704 Sacramento.

243: Joseph Spiatt*, owner (with William Dupont) of Albion Foundry, n.s. Pine bet. Montgomery and Sansome; G.D. White, physician and professor of physiology (work & dwl.); H. Gibbons, physician (work)

CENTRAL BLOCK ONE

Jessie Street (South Side)

209: John Stark*, stairbuilder (dwl.)

EASTERN BLOCK ONE

Third Street (East Side)

41: J. Griffin, Groceries and Liquors (work & dwl.); Louis Sonnenberg, liquors and groceries, 16 Kearny Street.

43: Charles Stark and Frank N. Old, Market (work)

45: George Uhl*, shoemaker (work & dwl.); P. Selwitz, boots and shoes (work & dwl.); Conrad Stein*, laborer with "Wieland and Company Brewery" (dwl.)

47: Binnus Marks*, clothing store (work & dwl.)

49: W. Hutchinson, carpenter with C. and W.H. Hutchinson, 304 Pine; Anna Maria Hutchinson, dressmaker (work & dwl.); John Murdock*, carpenter (dwl.)

53: A.D.D. Naguez, feed store (work)

55: Michael J. Doyle*, Liquor (work); William Ward, barkeeper (dwl.)

n.e. cor. Third and Mission: **Kossuth Saloon**, Thomas Vizard, proprietor; Thomas Farr, laborer "Vulcan Iron Works" (dwl.)

EASTERN BLOCK ONE

Jessie Street (South Side)

171: James Anderson, hostler (dwl.)

177: Isaac L. Bailey, omnibus proprietor (dwl.)

179: Marshall Wilbai*, house carpenter (dwl.); James Wilbai, butcher at the Thema Market.

181: Stephen Fox (dwl.)

183: Timothy Donahue*, laborer (dwl.)

EASTERN BLOCK ONE

Mission Street (North Side)

660: **University of Pacific Medical Department and Clinical Infirmary:** E. Samuel Cooper*, physician, surgeon, oculist, professor of medicine and pro-

prietor of "Clinical Infirmary," (work & dwl.); George E. Hinkley, physician and druggist at "Clinical Infirmary," (work); L.C. Lane, physician and professor of physiology (work & dwl.); H. Gibbons, physician (work)

664: Louis Czopkoy*, physician, "Medical and Surgical Institute," 519 Sacramento Street.

668: Michael Skelly*, Omnibus proprietor, **People's Line of Omnibusses**, 563 Market Street.

WESTERN BLOCK ONE

670: B Voight, wood and coal dealer (work & dwl.)

WESTERN BLOCK ONE

Mission Street (North Side)

806: Isaac Davis*, lime and cement dealer, n.e. cor. Front and Washington Streets

CENTRAL BLOCK TWO

Minna Street (North Side)

208: Phineas* and Henry D. Hudson*, ship carpenters; and Mathew H. Hudson, a clerk (dwl.)

210: Samuel McFarland, blacksmith with Murphy and Hart (dwl.)

212: Thomas Naylor, carpenter (dwl.)

212(rear): Patrick Burns*, waiter/steward at hotel (dwl.)

222: B. Heinghi*, jeweler and fancy goods merchant, 426 Commercial

224: Jarvis Jewitt*, carrier **Bulletin** (dwl.)

226: William C. Clemmens*, engineer at S.A. Metcalf's "Mechanic's Mills," s.w. cor. Mission and Fremont

232: John Enwright*, retortman, S.F. Gas Company (dwl.)

234: Francis Bahen (dwl.)

238: Charles P. Chesley*, newspaper carrier for **Morning Call**

248: Thomas C. Lindsey*, laborer (dwl.)

252: Timothy Flynn*, plasterer/laborer (dwl.)

132: Henry Stipler*, tailor (work & dwl.)

138: Herman Ooscher*, grocer (Ooscher & Company); William Mahland (work) grocer with **Ooscher and Company**; Henry Lange, grocer.

140: **Charley's Market**, Charles Geggus*, proprietor (work), John Hanovan, butcher.

142: Henry Webb*, tailor (work & dwl.)

146: John Ryan*, cabinet-maker (work)

148: J.R. Lambert* and W.C. Gilbert*, cigar manufacturers (work)

237: John S. Benton, clerk steamboat; Sophie Mcland.

243: Mrs. Margaret Irwin (boarder)

249: Peter D. Mott, Fireman-U.S.B. **Mint**; John Bryan, bricklayer (dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK TWO

Everett Street (North Side)

8: John Riordan*, boiler maker with "S.F. Gas Company"

20: Thomas Gotely*, builder/contractor (dwl.)

28: Jahn McFadden*, builder (dwl.)

30: John Blattner, patternmaker at **Donahue's Foundry**; Henry J. Pippey*, captain of vessel; John Eagon, liquor merchant; Thomas Parkins, carpenter (all dwl.)

34: Henry Casebolt*, carriage maker, 157 California Street

44(rear): Robert Stitt*, wheelwright (dwl.)

48: Michael Sullivan*, stage-driver/furniture wagan (dwl.)

50: John Mattell*, silver plater, 619 Kearny Street

52: Lowience O'Connell*, laborer (dwl.)

80: Jerome English*, blacksmith, George English, apprentice to painter (dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK TWO

Everett Street (South Side)

5: Charles Geggus, butcher, 140 3rd, "Chaley's Market"

7: William McGill*, (McGill and Company with Brother Joseph), carpenter moldings, doors etc., cor. Market and Beale Streets; George M. Compton, cigar manufacturer, 56 Third

21: John Wirsmitz*, pastry cook (dwl.)

25: Edward Maloney*, laborer

29: J.R. McGrath*, clerk with Austin and Company (dwl.)

31: John P. McGuire*, drayman (dwl.)

41: Fied Tracy*, city and county attorney (Died between 1860 and 1861, survived by wife Emily and children); H.F.W. Hoffman, accountant with C.A. Crane, advertising agent, n.w. cor. Sansome and Washington

43: Charles A. Faber*, waterman (dwl.)

45: Townsend Bagely*, Justice South Township; Charles F. Parker*, carpenter; Raphael Levy, peddler (dwl.)

49: John K. Briggs, drayman (dwl.)

51: **Brooklyn Bakery**, William Eades, proprietor (work & dwl.); George Hallowell*, carpenter (dwl.)

59: E. Polatsek, dry goods merchant and importer fancy goods (dwl.)

59(rear): Anne Foley, windowwasher and widow (work & dwl.)

61: W.L.D. Barde, attorney, 618 Merchant

63: George Chase*, vinegar manufacturer, 86 Everett (work)

71, 73 & 75: **Albany Brewery**, Claus Spreckles*, proprietor (work & dwl.)

83: John B. Brackett*, carpenter/millwright (dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK TWO

Howard Street (North Side)

708: A. L. Wangelhelm*, merchant (dwl.)

710: Joseph C. Hook*, saloon keeper, s.e. cor Clay and Montgomery

712: Walter N. Hawley*, hardware merchant and importer, s.e. cor California and Bottery Streets

726(rear): George Schafer*, barkeeper (dwl.)

732: William Sherman, clothing merchant, s.e. cor. Sansome and Commercial

738: Adolph Mayrisch*, cigar manufacturer (dwl.)

742: George H. Bigelow, Insurance Broker, **Bigelow and Brother**, (Henry H.), n.w. cor. Montgomery and Sacramento

746: Joseph P. Hoge and Samuel M. Wilson, attorneys, 3, 4 and S Manlgamey block

748: B. Adler, butcher (dwl.)

750: George Birdsall*, laborer warehouse department Custom House

758: Charles H. Webster*, auctioneer (Voizon, Ris and Webster), 219 and 221 Sansome

774: Phillip Thorn, proprietor, **Cincinnati Saloon**, n.e. cor. Howard and Third (dwl.)

133: Victor Gilbert, hairdresser, 647 Pacific; John G. Vennigholtz, groceries and liquors (work); John Magen* owner Meat Market - **John Mogan Market** (work & dwl.), **St. Louis Brewery**, Henry Hayen*, proprietor (work & dwl.)

135: Henry Hayen*, grocery and liquor store owner (work); Martin Goetz, brewer (dwl.); James Richey*, baker (work); Frederick Ehrenpfort, confectioner with M. Beinheim, 104 Clay Street; C. Condu de Lange*, laundryman (dwl.)

137: Patrick and Michael Dolan, ship carpenters (dwl.)

139: Charles Helke*, saddler and harness maker (work & dwl.)

141: Michael J. Murphy*, owner fancy goods store and his wife, Mary Ann Murphy, dressmaker (work & dwl.)

143: Patrick and Michael Dolan, ship carpenters (dwl.)

145: John J. Pensam*, butcher (work); Nancy Patterson*, washerwoman; Oavid W. Patterson*, attorney (dwl.)

147: C. Gotfredsen, grocer (work & dwl.)

149: J.W. Oenny, sign and ornamental painter (dwl.)

14S: William B. Dolan*, wood and coal dealer (work & dwl.); Thomas La Turnell, laborer with W.B. Dolan (work & dwl.); John McGuire, laborer with W.B. Dolan (work & dwl.)

18: Timothy McCauley*, carpenter (dwl.); Andrew F. Karins, gasfitter and plumber (dwl.)

EASTERN BLOCK TWO

Third Street (East Side)

101: Lattie Papper*, Millinery Store/Dry Goods Merchant (work & dwl. with Charles)

103: Charles Popper*, dry goods merchant/city commissioner, J.B. Bloomingdale, clerk with Charles Popper

105: Moses Strouse*, boot and shoe merchant (work & dwl.)

109: Peter D. Wheelan, laborer, **Alto Flour Mills**, 10 Stevenson; Mrs. Sarah Bennett and Miss Mary McGraw, dressmakers (work & dwl.)

111: Charles L. Newman*, crockery merchant (work & dwl.)

113: Hermann Mast*, 1862-saloankeeper n.e. cor. Clay and Kearny, 1859-proprietor of **Russ Gardens**, Harrison near Fifth; Christian Werner*, shaving saloon (work)

115: Sander*, (P.D.) and Kauger* (Charles H.), fruit merchants (work)

119: Isabella Hart*, widow and bookseller (work & dwl.)

123: Patrick* and Thomas Carrall*, grocers **Carrall and Brother**, (dwl. & work); John Barrett, collector for Moaney's Express (dwl.), Charles Murray, painter (boarder), Misses Hannah* and Mary Gill* (dwl.)

125: James C. Hanlon*, **Liberty Meat Market** (work), James McDonough*, fruit merchant (work); Andrew McCreery, 1859 - dry goods merchant (work), 1861 - merchant at 311 Commercial; Anna Muhm, (widow), fancy goods and millinery store (work & dwl.)

127: David Levitzky*, crockery and furniture dealer (work)

129: John Hammerschmidt*, shaving saloon with V. Henck* (work), Heimann Witte, barber (dwl.)

133: George F. Hinkley*, physician and druggist, **University of the Pacific-Clinical Infirmary**, 660 Mission Street (dwl.)

135: Joseph Goldsmith (dwl.)

137: Henry J. Morton*, drayman (dwl.); Moses Davis, butcher at 622 Mission (cor. Jone)

139: George F. Hinkley*, physician and druggist, **University of the Pacific-Clinical Infirmary**, 660 Mission Street (dwl.)

141: John Turner*, carpenter/laborer (dwl.)

143: Michael O'Meara*, teamster (dwl.)

145: Michael Dwyer*, moulder (dwl.)

147: Hugo Creuziger, upholster with J. Pierce (dwl.)

149: Hugh Ooyle, laborer (dwl.)

151: Simon Aaron, merchant - **H. Aaron and Company**, Siskyou County (dwl.)

153: Mrs. Robert Wallace, widow (dwl.)

EASTERN BLOCK TWO

Sherwood Place (North Side)

16: Charles Kellett*, Moulder - **Pacific Foundry**, 127 - 131 First Street; Michael Kelly*, machinist at **Union Foundry**, n.e. cor. First and Mission, (boarder); John Hagan*, sheet iron worker at **Union Foundry**; (boarder), Michael Cony, fruit stand

18: Timothy McCauley*, carpenter (dwl.); Andrew F. Karins, gasfitter and plumber (dwl.)

7: Patrick Shea*, drayman (dwl.)

9: Thomas Hickey, butcher (dwl.)

147: Michael Biogan, baker - **Astor Bakery** (Bakery was there in 1856) (work); A. Valentine, baker (work); H. Beaumeister, tailor (work & dwl.); H. Davis, fruit merchant (work); Giovanni Giandoni, (1859) - owner saloon (work)

151: Sierra Nevada Flour Mill, George Pardaw* - proprietor (work), (Dwells s.w. cor. Stockton and Washington Streets)

153: Cincinnati Brewery, Adam Meyer* - proprietor, in 1862 the brewery moved to Valencia Street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth; Charles Gerken, barkeeper (work)

157: Thomas Greggains, fruit merchant (work)

159: Heckman and O

1860 U.S. CENSUS RESIDENCES

*Data from 1860 Census, other residences, and places of business from Langley & City Directory, 1860

15: John Eastman, writer at **Oriental Hotel** (dwl.)

16: Richard Holzward, undertaker at 499 Sansome (dwl.)

21: William Kilday, vegetable dealer (dwl.)

31: Margaret Horlock*, editor (work & dwl.). Her husband, Robert, a black carpenter, doesn't appear in 1859 'd. City directory. Thomas Kaplan*, cigar dealer

47: Southside of Front street numbers appear first in Michael E. Woodruff, proprietor laundry; John Byron, black taylor, 1859 (dwl.); Charles Henschel, florist, 1859 (dwl.)

EASTERN BLOCK TWO

Howard Street (North Side)

66: Charles Cole*, stage melodist (dwl.). His wife, Eliza B. Cole, is an actress*, George Crossman*, partner with Webster's (in 1860) (dwl.)

68: Charles Kelly*, carriage-maker, his wife Ellen*, a widow, and his brothers, Thomas*, a butcher, and Joseph*, a coachman (dwl.)

69: Lily Byron*, cooper (dwl.), his wife Anne*, a dressmaker (work & dwl.)

72: Edward McCulloch*, snorer (dwl.), his wife Mary*, a dressmaker (work & dwl.)

76: Miss U.A. Mulligan*, milliner (work & dwl.)

78: John Cole, merchant (dwl.). 22 Stewart in 1860, Philip Hone, proprietor **Clarendon Saloon**, 1859 (n.e. cor. Howard and Third Streets, (work))

WESTERN BLOCK TWO

Fourth Street (West Side)

128: J.S. Taylor, veterinary surgeon (work), Horace B. Angell, Jr., Foreman machine shop Pacific Laundry (dwl.)

134: Susan Wright (widow), boarding house; Sherold Stone*, real estate and realisation merchant (dwl.); S.S. Pitts, owner market, 747 Mission (dwl.)

WESTERN BLOCK TWO

Mingo Street (South Side)

30: Laewe Brothers, groceries (work)

CENTRAL BLOCK THREE

Fourth Street (East Side)

209: Joseph Isaac*, stationer and importer liquor labels, cards etc. at 509 Sansome Street (dwl.)

53: cor. Tehema and Pacific Brewery, Frederick Koster and Co., Pacific Brewery proprietors

CENTRAL BLOCK THREE

Third Street (West Side)

200: Foster and John Szel, **Szel Brothers** grocers (work & dwl.)

208: (boarding house) John Hanth, conductor "Omnibus Railroad," Edward Boyle, tailor

209(rear): William Brooks*, seaman (dwl.)

210: Elizabeth Engel, contractor (work)

212: Miss Sarah Lewis, milliner (work)

216 = 216: Archibald Brown, florist (work & dwl.)

220: Colton House, David Colton, attorney (dwl.)

224-226: Frank Barnhouse, tailor (work & dwl.) also liquor at 85 Bush Street

242: Antoine Hoguez, food store (work)

246: Omnibus Stables, John Gardner, Patrick Ford and J.C. Bowman proprietors. Also J.C. Bowman iron boarding house upstairs from stables

266: William Wilson (black), hairdresser (work & dwl.)

Tehema Street (South Side)
271: Frederick Koster and Co., Pacific Brewery, (work & dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK THREE

Clematina Street (North Side)

268: William Khampt, engraver at 677 Washington Street

266: Eder Beyrean, saloon-keeper (work)

CENTRAL BLOCK THREE

Folsom Street (North Side)

716 - 718: Peter Heytron, wood and coal dealer (work & dwl.)

Folsom Street Bakery, proprietor Adam Uhl, Catherine Santini, saloon keeper (work & dwl.) Also owns saloon at 812 Kearny

EASTERN BLOCK THREE

Third Street (East Side)

201 - 205: Koster's Corner Henry Koster* and John E. Hensch*, gro-

cery and liquor store owners (work & dwl.), George Hove, (a boarder) saloon owner at 873 Montgomery

205: William H. Levin, physician and dentist (work)

209: E.D. Lohr, sign painter (work & dwl.); William S. Harrison, composition ornaments (dwl.), Herman Wendt and Company (with John Hoy) groceries and liquors

208: (boarding house) John Hanth, conductor "Omnibus Railroad," Edward Boyle, tailor

209(rear): William Brooks*, seaman (dwl.)

210: Elizabeth Engel, contractor (work)

212: Miss Sarah Lewis, milliner (work)

216 = 216: Archibald Brown, florist (work & dwl.)

220: Colton House, David Colton, attorney (dwl.)

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266: William Wilson (black), hairdresser (work & dwl.)

Tehema Street (South Side)
271: Frederick Koster and Co., Pacific Brewery, (work & dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK THREE

Folsom Street (North Side)

626: John Percott, wealthy banker at n.w. cor. Montgomery and Sacramento, holder of the **Percott Building** (dwl.)

642: Moses Ellis*, commission merchant (dwl.)

652: Herman Michels*, merchant, office at n.e. cor. Montgomery and Post Streets (in 1862 proprietor of Michel's Building and consul for Saxony, n.e. cor. Montgomery and Market Streets) (dwl.), Mr. Sneath, attorney (dwl.)

654: John Levy*, jeweler with Broverman and Levy - imports jewelry and watches, 621 Washington Street

664: Carsten Hildebrandt*, **Hildebrandt and Knop**, grocers - (Elfer's) n.e. cor. Hickey and Plinkney and W.S. Brannon near Seventh Street

WESTERN BLOCK THREE

Howard Street (South Side)

807: Francis and Francois Betuel*, launderers (work & dwl.)

817: John C. Morrison*, wholesale liquor merchant (dwl.)

WESTERN BLOCK THREE

Fourth Street (West Side)

200: Herman Ranken and Henry Badenhop, grocery and liquor merchants (work)

204: W.H. Bender, proprietor **Fourth Street Market**, J.D. Godens, butcher and Company (with John Hoy) groceries and liquors

210: Michael Huxley*, laborer (dwl.)

216: Albert Doscher*, grocer (work)

230: Patrick D. Campbell, feed store owner (work)

WESTERN BLOCK THREE

Tehema Street (North Side)

312: Cornelius Dunn*, carpenter

322: William Bruce*, peddler (dwl.)

326: Florence O'Holland*, moulder, (dwl.), George Ashton*, miner (dwl.)

334: Cornelius Crowley*, fruit dealer

350: Bernard Byrne and James Morgan, liquors (work & dwl.)

354: John Horton, seaman (dwl.), Charles D. Jordan, carpenter (dwl.)

356: Patrick Cosgrove*, fruit and vegetable dealer

360: George Cumming, machinist at Vulcan Iron Works (dwl.)

362: Naphtaly Kuhner, hat and cap manufacturer

366: Adolph Rickban, clerk (dwl. & work), Cornelius Cappleman, grocery store owner (work & dwl.)

382: William Windsor*, mariner/real estate (dwl.)

325: George Godfrey, laundryman (dwl.)

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791: Hermann Peters and Company (with Charles White), groceries and liquors (work & dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK FOUR

Third Street (West Side)

300: William Broustrup* and Herman Connahens*, groceries and liquors, Andrew Birrell, doorkeeper **Metropolitan Theater** (dwl.)

302: William H. Jones, tinsmith (work & dwl.)

306: William Johnstone*, shoemaker

314: George Buck, expressman, Thomas McCord, carpenter (dwl.)

316: **Philadelphia Bakery**, Charles Cherry, proprietor, Henry Puff, baker

328: Thomas Canty, saloon keeper (work)

330: George A. Scott*, brickmason (dwl.)

330(rear): William Gardner, omnibus driver, and partner in Omnibus Railroad Company

332(rear): Mary McGarraty, widow (dwl.)

334: Cornelius Crowley*, fruit dealer

350: Bernard Byrne and James Morgan, liquors (work & dwl.)

354: John Horton, seaman (dwl.), Charles D. Jordan, carpenter (dwl.)

356: Patrick Cosgrove*, fruit and vegetable dealer

360: George Cumming, machinist at Vulcan Iron Works (dwl.)

362: Naphtaly Kuhner, hat and cap manufacturer

366: Adolph Rickban, clerk (dwl. & work), Cornelius Cappleman, grocery store owner (work & dwl.)

382: William Windsor*, mariner/real estate (dwl.)

325: George Godfrey, laundryman (dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK FOUR

Fourth Street (East Side)

303: Eugen DeFrevice*, fisherman (dwl.)

307: Elizabeth Williams, (widow), Milk-ranch owner (dwl.)

325: Patrick Campbell*, laborer, U.S.B.M. (Mint) (dwl.)

335: Henry Kehae, contractor (dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK FOUR

Louisa Street (North Side)

11: Charles Newstead*, teamster (dwl.)

46: James Brennan, laborer (dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK FOUR

Louisa Street (South Side)

8: Julius Barkhausen*, intelligence office worker (dwl.)

10: James Rowland*, gardener

12: Edward Perkins*, teamster (dwl.)

14: James S. Hunt, calker (dwl.)

16: Michael O'Connell*, carpenter

18: John McNally*, job wagon (dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK FOUR

Cleary Street (North Side)

12: Sidney S. Merrill*, druggist; W.S. Davis.

20: Patrick Phelan*, printer (dwl.), Samuel Payne, plasterer (dwl.) Michael Bary*, carpenter (dwl.)

22: Lott Ellwell*, roof builder (dwl.)

24(rear): John O'Brien*, laborer (dwl.)

28: William A. Flood*, stone cutter (work & dwl.)

30: Timothy Ryan*, drayman

32: Maurice Sullivan*, drayman (dwl.)

34: James Corbett*, Bar-keeper, s.w. cor. Sacramento and Leidesdorf

34: James Corbett*, Bar-keeper, s.w. cor. Sacramento and Leidesdorf

CENTRAL BLOCK FOUR

Cleary Street (South Side)

9: E. Fagarty, groceries (work & dwl.)

15: John McKenzie, tailor with Frank Ellwell (dwl.)

29: Nathaniel Brew, ship carpenter (dwl.)

53: Peter Lynch, laborer (dwl.)

CENTRAL BLOCK FOUR

Ritch Street (West Side)

10: Thomas Campbell, blacksmith

12: Wilson Higgins*, Mariner (dwl.)

16: Christopher and William Hutchinsan carpenters and block letter cutters, 304 Pine Street

20: Mathius M. Carson, carpenter

24: William Poul*, laborer (dwl.)

30: Charles P. Clark*, watchman (dwl.)

32: C.J. Morrison, teamster with George Tairns (dwl.)

641: Joseph C. Vanderloost, merchant, office on Battery Street

32: Ebenezer Hawley*, laundryman - proprietor **City Laundry**, s.w. cor. Third and Brannon Streets

40: F.W. Fahren, grocer

42: James R. Kelly*, painter at 28 California Street

CENTRAL BLOCK FOUR

Ritch Street (East Side)

3: Samuel Ward, laborer (dwl.)

9: James Murphy*, laborer

11: Alexander Brown, engineer at **California Metallurgical Works**, Montgomery bet. California and Sacramento Streets

13: William J. McCloskey*, drayman (dwl.)

13(rear): Michael Welch*, laborer S.F. sugar refinery (dwl.)

15: Valentine Lowery*, laborer (dwl.)

17: Howard Lovejoy*, master of vessel (dwl.)

19: Patrick Reynolds*, laborer (dwl.)

23: Brown Brown*, carpenter (dwl.); Miss E. Cooper, milliner (work & dwl.)

25: John Murray*, boilermaker **Vulcan Foundry** (dwl.)

27: Thomas McAndrew*, moulder (dwl.); John Bain*, blacksmith (dwl.)

29: Jessie Glasby, millwright (dwl.), A. Teissiere*, professor of French and Latin at 638 Sacramento Street; S.W. Lang*, salt worker (dwl.)

41: Henry Y. Dornell*, clerk with Whitcomb, Pringle and Felton - Attorneys (dwl.)

43: John Miser, baker; Patrick Faulkner &, saloon keeper (dwl.)

669: John Hyland*, blacksmith

671: James Moher*, teamster

677: Willel R. Doty*, bookkeeper at 48 Battery Street

679: Henry R. Barker*, drayman (dwl.)

681: Michael Shaughnessy*, carpenter

734: Alexander Hansen*: Wholesale dealer in oysters with **Winant and Company** and Master of Vessel (work * dwl.)

756: Samuel Winant, wholesale dealer in oysters and produce with **Winant and Company** (work & dwl.)

782: George Wood, hairdresser

407: Nathan Wentworth*, grocer (dwl.); Silas Parker*, carpenter

417: William H. Hencken*, groceries and liquors (work & dwl.)

641: Joseph C. Vanderloost, merchant, office on Battery Street

643: Andrew J. Almy*, wholesale druggist with Reddington and Company (dwl.); Theodore Lawton* and Mathius Dusker*, groceries and liquors at 135 Second Street (dwl.); William Lawton, clerk with Reddington and Company (dwl.)

647: Samuel Edward Oakley, cider and vinegar manufacturer at 25 Commercial Street (dwl.); (proprietor Cariev's Mills 647 Folsom)

EASTERN BLOCK FOUR

Third Street (East Side)

327: Holmes Faneagan, physician (dwl.)

353: Eugene Upton*, printer **Bulletin**, (dwl.), William Cotrilo (dwl.); Miss Margaret Lammond, young ladies seminary (dwl.)

A: (s.e. cor. Fourth & Market) J.L.C. Partmann Soap Manufacturers.

B: (234 Stevenson) David Hews, contractor-steam puddy machine (lives with laborers)

C: (20 Third Street) Christian Van Glenn and Claus Doeschep, groceries.

D: (Southwest Corner of Market & Third) **George P. Kimball & Co.**, Carriage & Wagon Manufacturers - Kimball and Kramelke Company. Kimball's dwell. northwest corner of Third and Mission.

E: (192 Stevenson) S. Greller and Company (with James McKean) **Italian Soda Works**.

F: (Corner of Annie & Market) **St. Patrick's Church**, founded in 1851 by Reverend John Maglins.

G: (Market, near Annie) **St. Patrick's Orphanage**, founded in 1854.

H: (27 Third Street) Le Fong, Chinese Laundry (work & dwl.)

I: (29 Third Street) **Empire Soda Works**, John Delahanty & Peter Skelly and Company. This may have been built after 1857 but before 1859.

J: (Northwest corner of Jessie & Annie) **Eagle Bakery**, Michael Bater, Prop.

K: (Northeast corner of Jessie & Annie) J. Yates, Junk & Bottle Dealer

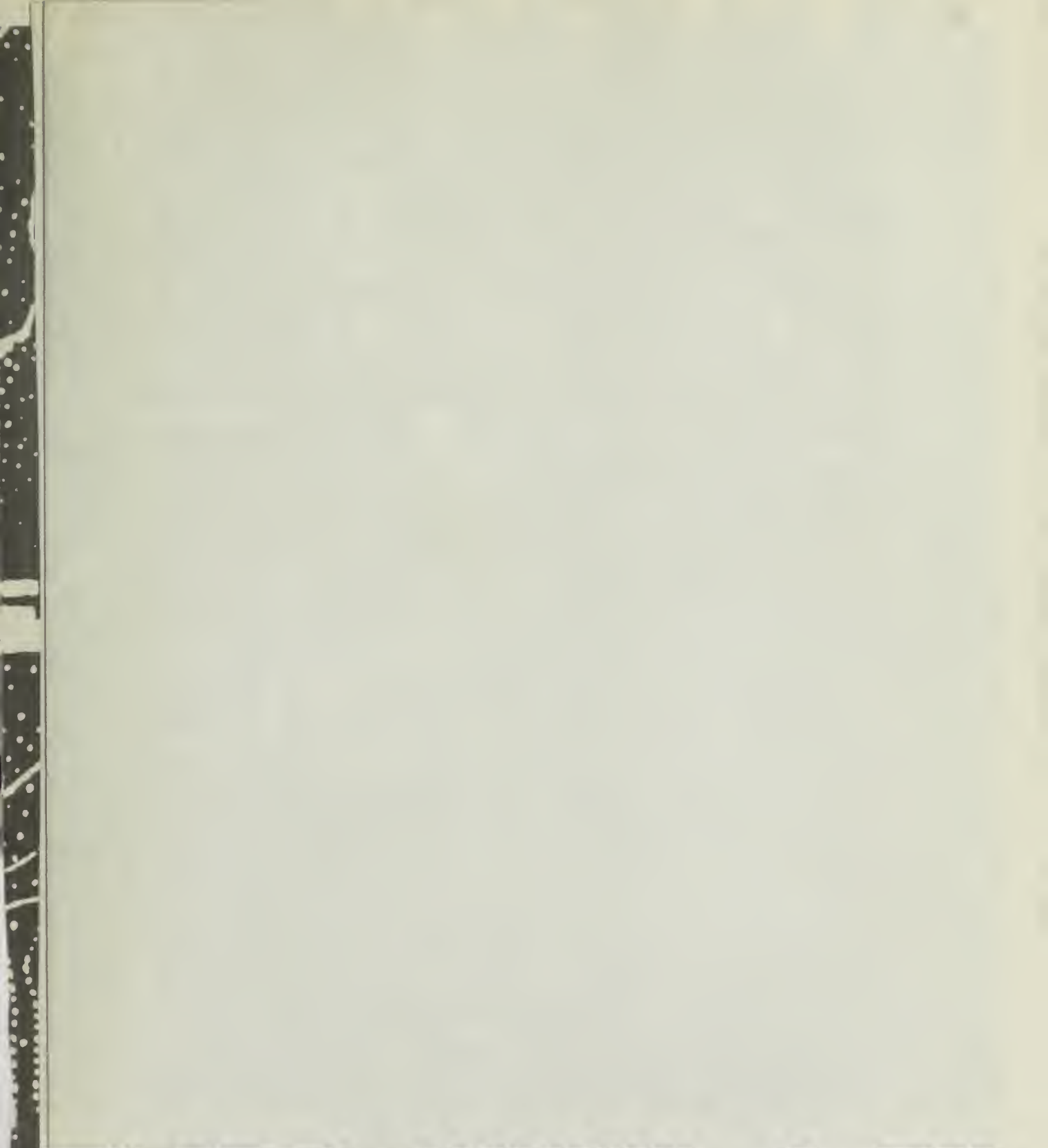
L: (Northeast corner of Mission & Annie) **Thistle Bakery**, proprietor, James Robertson, ca. 1856 (dwl. Jessie & Annie)

M: (109 Second, cor. of Mission) **P. J. Reilly Pharmacy**. Dr. Reilly was importer & jobber for drugs and medicine.

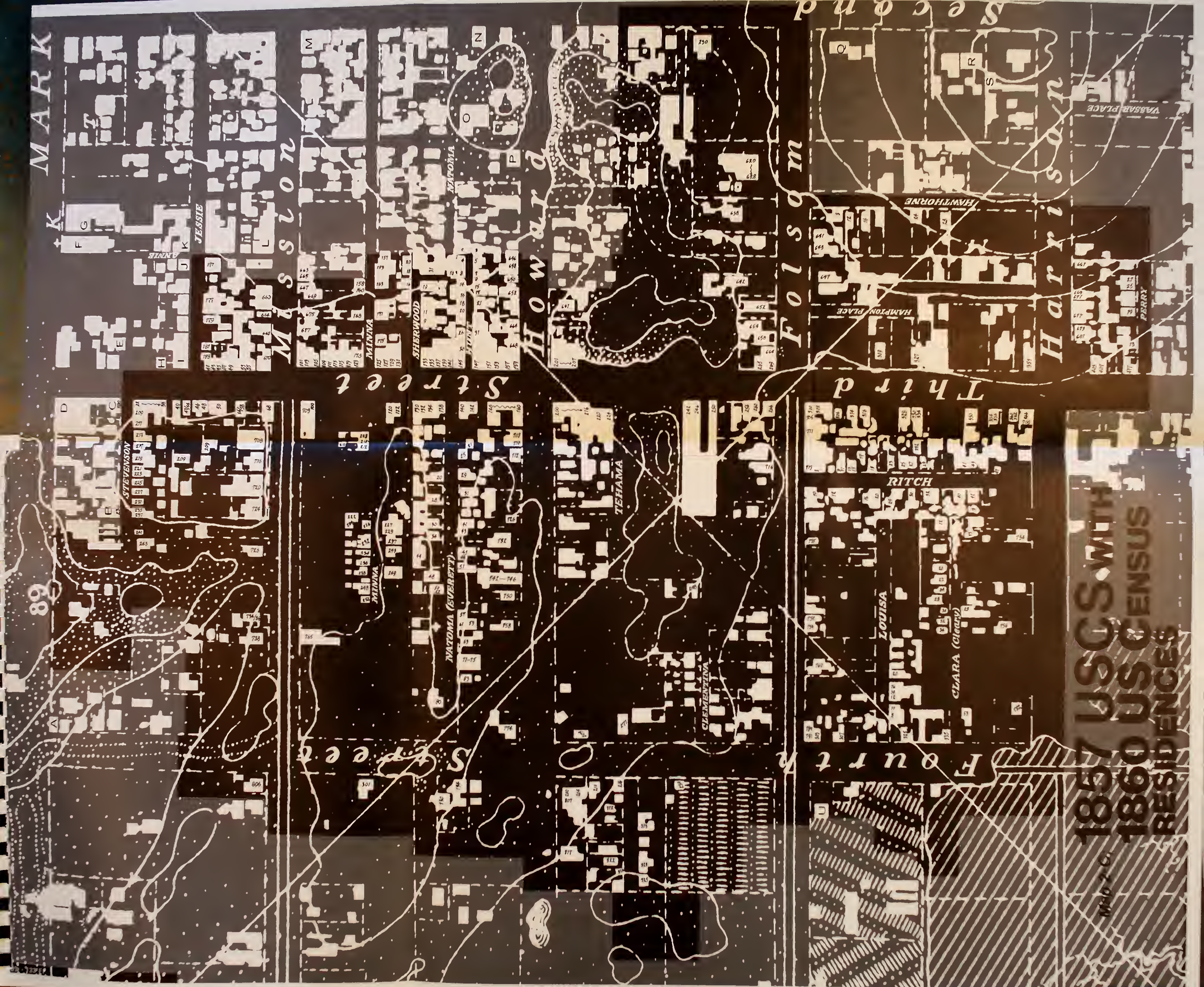
N: (West site of Second) **Tiger Engine Company**, organized in February, 1855. First located on the west side of Second between Jessie and Mission, and moved to west side of Second, between Howard and Natoma. Famous fire department composed of volunteer fire fighters, including Claus Spreckels, who was the proprietor of the **Albany Brewery**.

EASTERN BLOCK FIVE

Perry Street (North Side)



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feet long, at the first blow of the pile driver sank out of sight; indicating that there was no bottom within forty feet to support a bridge. One pile having disappeared, the contractor hoisted another immediately over the first, and in two blows drove the second one down beyond the reach of the hammer. It was supposed that the second pile had driven the first one under it, and if so, there was no foundation within eighty feet. The project of piling was abandoned, and cribs of logs were laid upon the turf so as to get a wider basis than that offered by piles . . ." (Hittell 1878: 152-53).

The **Mission Dolores Plank Road Company** built the road at a cost of \$96,000, or about \$30,000 per mile. The company could collect tolls for seven years after completion and then the property would revert to the city. Almost at once there was a demand for a parallel road on Folsom Street, and the same company obtained another franchise for Folsom Street. "The **Folsom Street Road** ran for nearly half a mile across swamps, between Third and Eighth streets, and the builders had serious difficulty in filling up with sand until a permanent road-bed was made. In 1854 a high tide overflowed the road between Fourth and Fifth streets and the planking floated away . . ." (Hittell 1878: 153).

Lotchin draws the analogy that the planked roads of San Francisco were the suburban freeways and an important supplement to the streets (Lotchin 1973: 169), and while it is certainly true that these planked roads opened up previously almost impassable areas to something more than a horse and a rider, the Coast Survey Map of 1857 shows an interesting phenomenon in the low level of structural build-up along toll roads as opposed to free roads.

In Map 2C, the free street of Third is rather heavily built up, except on that frontage still requiring leveling or filling. Third Street was planked to Mission Street and Folsom in October of 1853 at the expense of the property owners, who included Capt. J. L. Folsom (Mun. R. 1852-54: 298). The Mission toll road had its tollhouse at the northeast corner of Mission and Third, and the comparative lack of both dwelling places and commercial shops to the west is obvious. By 1858, Hittell notes that both roads were toll-free (Hittell 1878: 153); however, the census enumerator for 1860 lists one **William Southwick** as "the toll collector" at "the toll gate for Folsom Road at Fifth Street." It may

have been that the Folsom toll road was still charging beyond Fifth Street in 1860, the last year of its original franchise.

Brannan Street, to the south of the Yerba Buena Center, was authorized as a free planked road as early as September of 1853, "from Price Street to within 275 feet of Third Street, 35 feet wide and three feet above the high water mark with flood gates or culverts at the foot of Fourth, Fifth, and Simmons streets . . ." (Mun. R. 1852-54: 148). In effect, Brannan Street was a causeway across the northern edge of the salt marsh that intruded into the southern boundary of the Yerba Buena Center. Again it can be clearly seen that the free passage of people, horses, and carts along Third and Brannan influenced the buildup of shops and dwellings in the Yerba Buena Center. By 1857, the Coast Survey Map shows a preponderance of small houses and shops avoiding the Folsom Street footage in favor of homes along Ritch, Louisa, and Clary (as Clara was called at this time). All of these working-class neighborhoods could be reached by Third, Harrison, or Brannan.

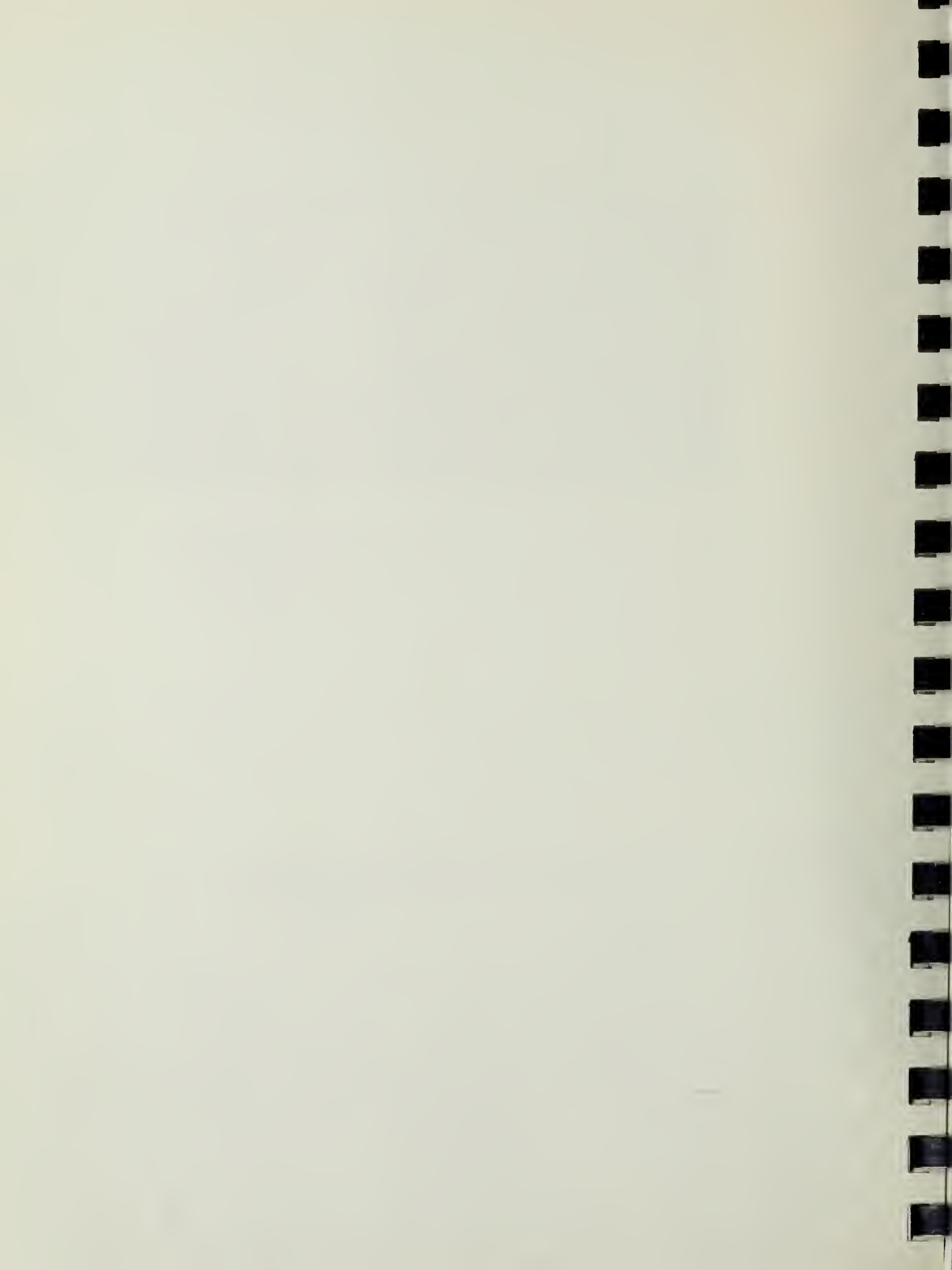
The Coast Survey Map of 1857 springs into three-dimensional reality with a look at the views published by G. R. Fardon in 1856, this being the first such collection for any American city. His **San Francisco Album** was taken only seven years after the Gold Rush. In it he included a view of Market Street from Kearny, looking over the eastern part of the Yerba Buena Center. From Plate 7, Fardon would appear to have been standing on a rooftop on the Kearny Street side of Market with his camera pointed directly towards the first **St. Patrick's Church**, which stood at the corner of Annie (later New Montgomery) and Market. This simple frame building was overwhelmed by the new Catholic orphanage next door, which extended almost back to Jessie Street (see Map 2C) in 1854. The **Reverend John Maginnis** presided over the congregation and the construction of the "capacious brick building, completed in November, 1854, at a cost of \$45,000." The 1861 City Directory remarks on "the source of gratification to behold the consoling appearance presented by the 275 little ones now provided for in the institution . . ." (Langley 1861: 475). Ten years later **Asbury Harpending** was to erect his **Grand Hotel** on the site of the orphanage and change the name of Annie to New Montgomery as part of his speculative scheme to level Rincon Hill and fill in Mission Bay. **William Ralston** was to build an adjoining and even grander hotel--the



Plate 7: South from Market, 1856 . . . The Catholic Orphanage dwarfs the older church on Market Street, between Second and Third streets, in this Fardon view of 1856. The white church behind is the Howard Presbyterian—named for the man, not the street, for it fronted on Everett. The gap between the mansions on the Rincon Hill skyline marks Second Street.

Plate 8: Fardon's View Over Happy Valley, 1856 . . . Third Street is just out of sight to the right in this photograph from Nob Hill, looking south.





Palace—on the site of Father Maginnis's first humble St. Patrick's church.

The other prominent church in the Fardon view is the **Howard Street Presbyterian Church**, at the corner of Natoma and Jane, near Howard Street. "Organized in September of 1850 to supply that portion of the city (Happy Valley) then destitute of religious privileges, it was dedicated in June of 1851" (Langley 1861: 470). The Fardon view does give the observer a clear picture of the condition of Second Street as it rises towards Rincon Hill in the background, with very large houses at the cross streets of Second and Harrison. General Halleck's house (326 Second Street) is the stark-white two-story house on the rise of Second Street near Folsom. Captain Folsom's carpenter-gothic residence (that was already part of the Hoelscher-Wieland Brewery on Eastern Block 3) is cut off from view by the saddle-like sand ridge that appears on Map 2C just south of Howard Street. The houses at the center, directly behind the Market Street church and orphanage, give a fair idea of the type of structures on Eastern Block 1, along Jessie and Mission, and on Central Block 1, along Stevenson Street.

Another Fardon view, titled "View over Happy Valley," (Plate 8) includes more of the Yerba Buena Center to the west. Fardon stood on the slope of Nob Hill to get the wider view of Happy Valley. From this higher elevation it is possible to locate Captain Folsom's house, to the south of General Halleck's home. The prominent house on the top of Rincon Hill is identifiable as Episcopalian Bishop Kip's residence (328 Second Street). The Howard Presbyterian Church locates the corner of Jane (New Montgomery) and Everett (Natoma) streets. The view shows the state of the city of 1856 so well described by Bancroft:

It was a straggling city, however, with its dumps and blotches of hills and hillocks, of bleak spots of vacancy and ugly cuts and raised lines. The architecture was no less patchy, for in the center prisonlike and graceful structures alternated, interspersed with frail wooden frames and zinc and corrugated iron walls, and occasionally the hull of some hauled-up vessel; while beyond, rude cabins and ungainly superimposed stories of lodging-houses in neglected grounds varied with tasteful villas embowered in foliage, and curious houses perched high on square-cut mounds . . . (Bancroft 1888: v. vi 778).

Among the South of Market institutions that were already in operation by 1857 and can be found on Map 2C was the **Omnibus Stable** described above at 246 Third Street. By 1861 **Peter Donahue** had started

the **Omnibus Railroad Company** with a 25-year franchise to lay rails on an ambitious route that would effectively move San Francisco's population by fast and smoothly operating horsecars on tracks that ran from the foot of Third Street to North Beach and from Third and Howard to Sixteenth and Dolores. Fares were dropped to 5¢ and the Omnibus Railroad Company was given two years from May 1st, 1861, to complete the rail system. It was not an unusual move in San Francisco to buy one's competitor—in this case, the name, the route, and at least one of the top managers--and that was just what Donahue accomplished. The old Gold Rush-period stables, established in 1854, had evolved to the Omnibus Railway Company by the early spring of 1861. Mass transit was in operation in the Yerba Buena Center and all of South of Market was tied to the financial district and South Park, Rincon Hill, and indirectly to the busy San Francisco waterfront, which was the center of all commercial activity that involved buying and selling and speculating in goods. South of Market, the waterfront was, in 1857-59, largely devoted to the booming lumber trade from the Redwood Coast and the Pacific Northwest. All of Steuart Street was a wharf with many slips for the big lumber schooners, and the area west from Steuart to Main and to Fremont was in the process of being filled. For the residents of the Yerba Buena Center one of the most important centers of employment from the early 1850's through the early 1870's was the concentration along First Street (two blocks east of the YBC) of San Francisco's first pioneer foundry businesses. The **Union Iron Works**, established as early as 1849, was at the northeast corner of First and Mission streets. Their advertisement in the 1859 City Directory offered "Machinery and Castings of every description, on the shortest notice, and finished in a style of workmanship that cannot be surpassed. Steam Engines Built and Repaired. Quartz Mills, Saw Mills, Threshing Machines, Horse Powers, Grist Mills, Gearing, Malt Rollers and All Kinds of Mill Work, Steamboat Repairing, Blacksmithing, etc. . . Besides the extensive assortment of Machinery Patterns. Attention is called to the new and beautiful designs for Building Castings, Iron Fronts and Columns for Stores, railings for Balconies and Stairs, Door and Window Sills, Stair Cases. . . **Peter Donahue, Proprietor**" (Langley 1859: 412).

In addition to the Union Iron Works, there were jobs to be had in the **Vulcan Iron Works**, First Street near the gas works. The Vulcan works



Plate 9: Fashionable Second Street . . . The artist's conception of the outlook at Second and Harrison in 1856 showed the buildings and sand hills in the background accurately enough, and of a Sunday, there is no doubt that well-dressed residents of Rincon Hill might have been seen about—if not all at once. The Folsom estate (left) had just become a brewery.

Plate 10: First and Folsom, 1856 . . . Among the middle-class residents was banker William T. Sherman, whose house is seen at the right. Beyond is the view that the artist above left out: the beginnings of "Tar Flat," so named for the effluent from the new gas works (left of center). The shallows of the former cove were not totally reclaimed until after the seawall of 1868 kept made land from sliding gently towards Oakland. (Bancroft Library)





specialized in turning out steam engines and steam boilers, water wheels, and heavy mining machinery. The **Pacific Foundry** was on First Street, between Mission and Howard streets. **Hinckley and Company** were located at First near Mission. By 1861, the number of both iron and brass foundries had increased from 13 to 20. The 1859 City Directory estimated that 200 machine shops, foundries, and metal working businesses gave employment to about 1,000 people. And it was among these stable, productive industries that the South of Market workingmen could find prized jobs as pattern makers, machinists, blacksmiths, boilermakers, molders, draughtsmen, and laborers as well as draymen and watchmen.

The fashionable residents of Rincon Hill looked down on the flourishing gas works and the chimneys of the foundries that lined First Street with as much pride as they had in their busy waterfront. That San Francisco should be able to build its own machinery rather than import eastern mining equipment and steam engines was a sign of progress and economic well-being. It was not until the 1870's that the increase of the South of Market working-class neighborhoods began to turn Rincon Hill and Harrison Street and South Park into enclaves of residential capitalism within the larger (and perhaps oppressive) number of Irish and German immigrants who flooded into the South of Market, arriving on the transcontinental trains and bringing the East Coast depression with them.

The rapidly growing population of the early 1860's required great increases in the number and size of basic institutional services of the times, such as churches and schools, not to mention fire companies and orphanages. The first school built in Happy Valley in 1850 was at the intersection of Mission and Second on land donated by Mellus and Howard, and was supported by voluntary public contributions. It was called "The Happy Valley Public School" (Soule 1854: 680). The **Rincon School**, built at First and Folsom in 1852, moved to the southeastern boundary of the Yerba Buena Center, in 1857, with a large new building that housed 548 pupils. The new school was built on Harrison Street at the corner of a "retired street," sometimes called Vassar Place, and at other times Hampton Place.

The 1860 census turned up a cluster of resident doctors at 660 Mission, founders of the **University of Pacific Medical College**. Among

them was **Dr. Samuel F. Cooper**, who was a physician, surgeon, and oculist, as well as a professor at this pioneering medical institute. Dr. Cooper was 37 at the time and had come to San Francisco from Massachusetts, as had Charles E. Holbrook, who was 19 and was listed as a medical student. The census array of people at 660 Mission in 1860 was so diverse that the list may have included a number of patients and some employees at the infirmary--for the college contained both a drugstore, run by **Dr. George E. Hinkley** (in 1859), and a "teaching infirmary" that specialized in diseases of the eye, ear, and throat. Among those listed (perhaps as patients?) were George Carroll, who was 15; George Rollo, who was 30 and listed his occupation as a carpenter; and Nancy M. Pleasant, who was 20 and from Missouri. Three of the census residents at 660 Mission who may have been nurses or helpers in the clinic were Adelaide, who was 35 and was a black woman from Kentucky; Francisca, who was 19 and from Mexico; and Ignacio, who was 21 and from Sonora (no last names were given). Fitch Ludlam was an English clerk; William P. Derry was a 34-year-old black steward from Pennsylvania. Edward Roper and his wife, Kate, were also listed as residents. Roper was a well-to-do English painter, and he listed his real estate assets at \$15,000, with \$4,000 in personal property. The City Directory for 1859 lists Kate Roper as a "matron" at the Pacific Clinical Infirmary. It may well have been that 660 Mission Street was the large residence of Edward Roper converted to the first building of the University of Pacific Medical School. Among the other physicians associated with the school were **Dr. H. Gibbons**, and **Dr. S. C. Lane**, professor of physiology. By 1861 the staff included **J. Morison**, professor of Pathology and the Principles and Practice of Medicine; **Isaac Rowell**, professor of Chemistry; **R. Beverly Cole**, professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Women and Children; and the **Hon. George Barstow**, professor of Medical Jurisprudence (Langley 1861: 31).

The conversion of a large private home to some institutional use or commercial enterprise seems to have been not unusual: for example, **General Halleck** lent his home at 226 Folsom to a group of charitable ladies to house the **Protestant Orphan Asylum** until they could build a larger place. Halleck's house, one of the first Rincon Hill mansions, can be located on Map 1 and Map 2C, as it stands in some isolation just south of the YBC southern boundary.

David D. Colton was a young attorney from Monson, Maine, who built a substantial brick house on the west side of Third, between Howard and Folsom. The house was built about 1857, as it can be found on the map, just above Tehama Street, on the corner of Third on CB-3. Apparently Colton built it solely as a personal residence—he valued the property at \$20,000 and his personal effects at \$30,000. In the 1860 census, he was in residence there at 220 Third Street, with his wife, Ellen M., from New York, and their children, Ellen A. and Carrie, and some servants from Nova Scotia. By 1866, the building was referred to as "**the Colton House**" in **Langley's City Directory**, with a Mrs. E. C. Pearl as the proprietor. **The Great Register of San Francisco** for the year 1866 had a large number of upper-middle-class boarders in residence at 220 Third Street. Bancroft's thumbnail sketch of David Colton says that he came to California in 1879 (should read 1849) and was made a sheriff at Yreka. After going back East and studying law in Albany, New York, he returned to San Francisco and opened a law office with R. C. Harrison. He became associated with various railroad enterprises (most important the Central Pacific) and Bancroft quotes this note to Colton from Huntington (Nov. 18, 1874): "There is a large field to be worked over in California, to bring about good feeling between ourselves and our enemies, and I think you are the man to do it. . ." (Bancroft 1888: vii, 611). Colton House continued to operate as a boarding or rooming house as late as 1887. The Sanborn Map for the period shows it to have had a large courtyard opening onto Tehama Street, and where horses and carriages had made their entrance in the 1850's a Chinese laundry accommodated the patrons of the Colton House of the late 1880's.

Another conversion from a private residence to a commercial enterprise was the sale of the late **Captain Joseph L. Folsom's** estate at 220 Second Street to **August Hoelscher** and **John Wieland** for the installation of their expanded **Philadelphia Brewery** in 1856. Folsom's untimely death had put the property on the market, and his friend William T. Sherman wrote of his dismay at the auction of Folsom's holdings, among them "his magnificent homestead, 140 x 275, highly improved with a good dwelling, stable, lots, house, etc. only \$10,000 for a lager beer garden. Folsom spent on that lot in improvements nearly \$90,000" (Clarke 1969: 257). The rather curious long rectangular structures on the hill top at the end

of the drive from Second Street were probably the greenhouses and stables for Folsom's estate. They may have become the first malt-drying floors for the **Hoelscher-Wieland Brewery**. Folsom's carpenter-gothic house was a landmark in early daguerreotypes of the South of Market area, and it became the Gold Rush landmark used again and again in brewery ads through the decades when Wielands became a household word for beer in San Francisco. But Wieland's Philadelphia Brewery, although it was the biggest and most enduring South of Market enterprise of its kind, was only one of the early German breweries on the Yerba Buena site. By 1859 there was **Claus Spreckel's Albany Brewery** on the south side of Tehama between Third and Fourth streets, and there was **Adam Meyer's Cincinnati Brewery**, located (with less precision) "on the east side of Third, near Howard." There was the Koster family of German brewers who settled in the Yerba Buena Center. **J. Albert Koster** had the **Union Brewery**, at Mission near Third, and **Frederick Koster** and **Frederick Fortman** ran the **Pacific Brewery** at the corner of Fourth and Tehama. **Herman Koster's** beer vaults were built under his lodging house on the southeastern corner of Third and Howard where he sold the family brew from his corner saloon and grocery store (Langley 1859: 307).

With the brewer's art the Germans brought the beer garden to Gold Rush San Francisco. **Russ's Gardens** out by the Mission was one of the earliest festive watering places remarked on by Soule when the Germans celebrated May Day in 1853, ". . . somewhere about eighteen hundred persons of German blood . . . leaped, balanced and twirled, danced, sang, drank, smoked and made merry, as only such an enthusiastic race of mortals could. . ." (Soule 1854: 445). The annalist goes on to add that the German population in San Francisco had always been very large and may by 1854 be estimated at between 5,000 and 6,000. By the time of the 1860 census the German population South of Market was noticeable, so that the brewers brought not only their skills but a ready market as well.

In studying the 1860 census for the South of Market (Ward 10) and the **Langley City Directories** for 1859, 1860 and 1861, the inescapable impression is reached that every available corner of the Yerba Buena site was occupied by a combination of the grocery store and grog shop, frequently with lodgings above. The corner lots were often the first to

be built on, as soon as they were cleared or filled, as these were the prized commercial locations, with frontage on two streets and a conspicuous location. A further observation is that these early (1859-1860) small business enterprises were largely run by the German population. To check the accuracy of this observation a count of the Germans and their occupations was made for Ward 10 in 1860.

The census enumerator, more often than not, listed "Germany" as the place of birth, but many of the German respondents specified the still autonomous states or principalities--Hanover, Hamburg, and Bremen, Baden or Schwartzburg, Bavaria or Prussia. Among the 387 German families found in Ward 10 (which extended east to include Fremont and First Street, and south to include South Park and Bryant Street) the largest single class of occupations was found as "Bakers, butchers, and grocery-store owners and clerks." This amounts to 79, or 20% of this sample. Some confusion exists between grocers and retail liquor shop owners, as the bar in the grocery store or the sale of liquor in the back of the store was more usual than not. Therefore, if we add the category of "liquor dealers and saloon owners," we have an additional 27 for a total of 106 or 27%. If we add the German brewers, who numbered 21, we have a total of 127 or about 32% of the German population in this South of Market area working in occupations that might loosely be classified as the retail and wholesale food and liquor industry. Two other observations should be made about the German grocers of 1860. If the head of the family listed himself as a grocer and it has been possible to locate his grocery store in the city directories, the chances are that he came from Hanover--if not, he was apt to come from Hamburg. Also he owned his grocery store. Among the German immigrant class the grocers invariably listed small amounts of money in real estate and personal property--sometimes as little as \$500 and occasionally as much as \$5,000. We do not know the basis on which these figures were obtained--whether the value was placed by the census enumerator or was the recorded response of the head of the household--we can say that the repetition of these various amounts must have indicated that the grocers did indeed own their stores and furniture.

It should be added that the next two largest categories of occupations for Germans in 1860 were "servants, pedlars, draymen, gardeners,

and laborers" (who totaled 74, or 19%), and merchants (who totaled 64, or 17%). The merchants included almost all the respondents who came from Prussia and Bavaria. There was a slightly smaller group of 18 who were classified as manufacturers; the goods they made included hats, hardware, oil products, bedding, soda, tinware and stoves, candy, carriages, and "segars." Our popular image of the German as a skilled woodworker or mechanic is not borne out as early as 1860 by those Germans living in Ward 10. It is likely that if the study area included the waterfront, we would have found many more skilled German craftsmen. However, this South of Market ward includes the First Street foundries. In Ward 10 were 13 German engravers, jewelers and watchmakers.

To further relate the German population in Ward 10 to the figures on foreign and native populations in San Francisco as a whole, the following statistics are available: Total foreign population for San Francisco was 28,454, of which the English comprised 2,412; the Irish, 9,363; the Scots, 639; the British-American, 694; the French 2,203; and the Germans, 6,346. "Others" (which would have included 2,719 Chinese and 1,176 Blacks) was totaled 6,777. In San Francisco, 50% of the population was foreign-born. (U.S. Census 1860: v. 3, 348).

The Butcher, the Baker, and the Family Corner Store: On Eastern Block 3, Henry Koster, of the brewing family already discussed above, appeared in the 1859 City Directory on the southeastern corner of Third and Howard (201 Third Street on Map 2C) where he and his family remained in business and were property owners as late as 1894 (Handy Block Book). Koster had a variety of partners, most of whom were lodgers as well: Frederick Dorsher clerked for Koster, and F. Ebbinghausen (who was only 12 when he first worked for Koster) eventually became a full partner by 1869. John Hensch may or may not have been a paying guest at Koster's corner, but he too was listed in the census as Koster's business partner, and his occupation as that of "brewer."

Down Third Street, at Folsom, Hermann Wendt ran the corner grocery and retail liquor store as early as 1857. By 1861 he took in John Hay, a lodger, as a partner, but as the census enumerator did not list Hay, we are uncertain as to his nationality. By 1869 Wendt had another live-in partner, Herman Eckhoff. At the northeast corner of Howard and

Third, Philip Thorn was proprietor of the **Cincinnati Saloon** in 1859. Whether this was on the same site, or next door, to Adam Meyer's Cincinnati Brewery is not certain but it would appear that Meyer both produced and sold German beer near this corner from at least as early as 1859 through 1861. Across the street August Frank ran **Frank's Market** at the northwest corner of Third and Folsom as early as 1859. (On Map C2 this address would appear as 256 Third, but the corner street numbers varied from 266 to 256 between 1861 and 1887.) Nor were these the only German proprietors in the area with similar businesses. Nicholas H. Wunnerberg operated a saloon on the north side of Folsom, between Third and Fourth, while he was a driver for the New York Brewery, opened by Charles Hafnar and Frederick Michaels, at 199 Post Street. Carsten Hilderbrandt was listed as running a grocery store with retail liquors, on the south side of Folsom near Third in 1859. It appeared that he occupied part of the Wendt and Hay establishment at 664 Folsom.

Farther up Third Street, towards Market, the **St. Louis Brewery** could have been found on the southeastern corner of Third and Sherwood, with Henry Hayden as proprietor. He also sold groceries and liquors at 135 Third Street in 1861. Edward Schiffel was selling liquors at Third Street, near Minna, in 1860-61. Herman Mast, one of San Francisco's most celebrated early saloonkeepers and proprietor of **Russ's Gardens**, was in partnership with Stadfield at 113 Third in 1861. Herman Doscher was across Third at 138 Third Street in 1860-61; earlier, he had a grocery and liquor store at the corner of Third and Natoma. William Claus Mahland was in partnership with Doscher in his earlier venture. John and Herman Brunning held down the southwest corner at Third and Mission as early as 1859 (100 Third Street on Map 2C).

Continued study shows that although not every corner had a German grocery store and saloon, this was not far from the truth in the late 1850's and early 1860's. Neighborhoods nearer Market Street in the Yerba Buena Center tended to have greater ethnic diversity. There was a concentration of French and English immigrants around Jessie, Stevenson, and Mission, and as a result the saloons, grocery stores, and bakeries reflect this local diversity. On Central Block I, among the butchers and bakers, the grocery and liquor store owners, we find 5 Frenchmen, 5 Irishmen, 6 Englishmen or Scots, 7 Germans, and 6 New Englanders or

New Yorkers, plus 7 whose origins are unknown. In this block there was a concentration of French, a number of bankers and commission merchants, as well as French attorneys and physicians, owners of fancy goods stores and importers.

For example, on the north side of Mission near Third were Pierre and Jean Sansevain, who were wine merchants in the early 1860's. Their business, however, was located at 193 Montgomery, while they lived on Eastern Block I. Their near neighbors included the Cammet family from New England. John Cammet, with Francis Cauce, operated the New York Bakery and Restaurant on Kearny Street.

On the northeast corner of Mission and Third, Thomas Vizard was the proprietor of the **Kossuth Saloon** in 1859. Kossuth was an exiled Hungarian revolutionary who had led a triumphant tour of the United States as the hero of the working classes. Christian Van Glann and Claus Doscher ran the corner grocery store and saloon on the northwest corner of Third and Stevenson in 1859. Louis Sonnenberg sold both liquor and groceries at the southeast corner of Jessie and Third in 1859. On the north side of Mission, between Second and Third, John Delahanty and Peter Skelly were the proprietors of the **Empire Soda Works** at 29 Third.

Bartenders and bakers in this area bore such English names as Charles Clark, the barkeeper at 242 Stevenson, in 1860; or they had names of no easily recognizable national origin, such as Michael Bater, the proprietor of the **Eagle Bakery**, at the northwest corner of Jessie and Annie, in 1859; or Luke Doe, who ran the **Milk Bread Bakery** on the north side of Mission, close to Fourth, that same year.

Moving away from the more diverse and congested areas near Market and Mission, the pattern of German ownership of the corner grocery store (with or without saloon) repeats itself on Fourth Street. For example, the **Hamburg Bakery** was run by George Elhmann on the southeast corner of Fourth and Mission as early as 1859. This structure did not appear on the Coast Survey Map of 1857, and was probably built about 1858, or early in '59. Louis Wichelhausen also located his grocery store on the same corner in 1861, and by then a number of German grocers had moved in along Fourth Street in the Yerba Buena Center site. William Schuman (116 Fourth), G. Wuth (119 Fourth), Henry Koph, Lehmkuhl & Hampton, and A.T. Searle, all opened groceries or markets

along Fourth Street in the years 1860 or 1861. It may have been that they were taking advantage of the immediate accessibility of produce and vegetable gardens on Eastern Blocks 3 and 4.

The southern edge of the Yerba Buena Site was involved in one of San Francisco's earliest experiments in importing oysters and attempting to raise them for the voracious gourmards of the San Francisco market. During the Gold Rush, oysters were in such demand that as early as 1849 the **Alta California** was advertising shipments of Eastern oysters from canneries in Baltimore (Muscatine 1975: 131). According to Hittell, it was Captain Feldstead who brought the first oysters to San Francisco from Shoalwater Bay, on the Northwest Coast, but they died before their arrival. But by 1851 Anthony Ludlum made a success of Shoalwater oysters and the business became a major one in San Francisco (Hittell 1882: 362).

On the north side of Harrison Street, between Third and Fourth, several small structures can be found as early as 1852. By the time the Coast Survey Map of 1857 was issued, **Alexander Hansen** lived at 734 Harrison, as master of the vessel that brought the oysters back to San Francisco from Shoalwater Bay. The 1860 census tells us that he was born in Norway and was 35 at that time. His wife, Kate, was from England and was only 19. He was a man of some property by then and was one of three partners in the oyster business. **John S. Morgan** handled the oyster harvesting in Shoalwater Bay in Washington Territory, and **Samuel Winant** sold the oysters in San Francisco to the many oyster saloons in the financial district and on the waterfront. Winant lived at 756 Harrison as early as 1859, but the location of his home on Map 2C is not certain. The census listed Samuel Winant as "a dealer in oysters and produce" and noted that he was born in New York. His wife, Jennie F., was from Massachusetts. In 1860 they had no children, but it would appear that the two younger women, Margaret Neal and Mary D. Neal (aged 19 and 15), were his wife's younger sisters from Massachusetts.

The waters of Mission Bay may have been tried as beds for the Shoalwater oysters, but Richardson's Bay was soon chosen as a favorable location. A description of the J. S. Morgan & Company oyster business in the early 1870's noted that "A fast little sailboat the **Pet** makes daily trips back and forth between the beds and the Market Street Wharf. A number of 'floats' as they are called, which look like small airtight scows,

are used to gather the oysters upon, and also to receive them from the schooner from Shoalwater Bay" (Hittell Scraps: n.d.). By the end of the 1850's three San Francisco firms were importing as many as 35,000 baskets of fresh oysters from Washington. Holding beds in San Francisco Bay stored as many as 5,000 baskets at a time (Muscatine 1975: 131). It is of some interest to note that the prehistoric shell mound on Harrison Street (cited previously) was coincidentally near the residences of two of San Francisco's most prominent oystermen. The site uncovered was on the lot west of 733 Harrison Street, which would have been across the street from Hansen's home and closer to the marsh section of Mission Bay. The artifacts associated with this recorded shell mound were reexamined at the time of this report and there is no doubt as to their prehistoric authenticity (Mark Ruddo, June, 1979, confirmed analysis by conversation).

At Harrison Street, almost at the corner of Fourth Street, the 1860 census located a cluster of black people living at three adjoining addresses. We have no way of knowing when they immigrated or what may have brought them together, as their backgrounds and occupations were diverse. The structure that appears on the 1857 Coast Survey Map at what would probably have been 782 Harrison would have been the home of **George Wood**. The census enumerator listed him as "Mu," meaning mulatto. He was a barber by occupation, and a man of property, as his real estate holdings were valued at \$6,000 and his personal property at \$500. He was 28 and his wife, Elizabeth, was 27. At 786 Harrison, there lived **Edward W. Parker**, who was a shoemaker from Virginia. He was 40, as was his wife, Sara, who was a washerwoman. Like the Woods, the Parkers had no children. **William B. Farrell**, a cooper from the West Indies, lived at 778 Harrison. His wife, Ann E., was from Virginia, and they had a son, Robert W., who was 16, born in Massachusetts, and was attending school. William Farrell was adept at various trades as he was listed in the 1859 directory as a "clothing renovator" and in the 1861 directory as a tailor, but his occupation as given to the census taker was that of cooper. Hittell noted that coopers were always in short supply in California and cited the industries that used coopers' wares: "brewers, wine and liquor merchants, sugar refineries, flour mills, provision packers, dealers in drugs, chemicals, oils, lime, cement. . . kegs, barrels, hogsheads, and

casks are required in California, where so much wine, flour, fruit, and butter are produced, and in San Francisco, where manufacturing interests, already large, are constantly increasing. . ." (Hittell 1882: 621).

The Farrells had a boarder, **David H. Hawkins**, who was 60 years old and a laborer from Washington, D.C. Little is known about this small group of Blacks (or mulattoes, as the census taker preferred to note). In 1860, 503 individuals were listed as "Black," and 673 were listed as "Mulatto"—this is as compared to 52,866 white males and females, and 2,719 Chinese. The only other black or mulatto individuals located in the Yerba Buena site in 1860 were some few hairdressers and barbers on Second Street. San Francisco would have been an attractive place of refuge for Blacks on the eve of the Civil War, as California was known as a free state with an expanding economy. The expense of getting to San Francisco would have been the real deterrent, but in the case of these middle-aged black couples, each family was able to afford a home and property. It is also true that some Southerners had brought their black servants with them to work in the gold mines, or as personal servants, and this may have been the means by which some had arrived.

Harrison Street to the east, near Fourth, was almost undeveloped near the meandering marshes of Mission Creek. Harrison Street to the west was a different story. Here it climbed toward Second Street and became part of Rincon Hill. At Hawthorne Street, it reached an elevation of about 80 feet and at Second Street it was at 100 feet and commanded sweeping views of San Francisco and the bay. As might be expected, the most fashionable residences enjoyed the best outlooks. At 661 Harrison lived **Morris Greenberg**, who was the proprietor of the **Eagle Brass Foundry** at 121 Battery Street. Greenberg was one of the few Polish immigrants in the South of Market (only 5 Polish families were found in the 1860 census in the YBC), and he listed his occupation as machinist. Together with G. E. Smith he supplied San Francisco with pumps, bells, gongs, water gates, hydrants, steam gauges, and whistles. Not far up Harrison, at 644, lived **Willett Doty**, a merchant from New York, who worked as a bookkeeper for Jacob Underhill, an importer of hardware on Battery Street. **Benjamin Brooks'** address was simply given as "Harrison opposite Hawthorne" in 1861. He was a Montgomery Street attorney and moved into the area just after the census was taken.

Hawthorne Street, along with Hampton Place, Essex Street, and Park Lane North, conjures up images of elegant English rowhouses, which existed at South Park. On Hawthorne Street, the residents of this period included **Joseph Brandon**, an attorney from Barbados, who also dabbled in real estate. Brandon lived with his wife, Sara, and his children, Mary, Edith, and Nina, and their Irish nurse, **Rosanna Peggs**, at the southwest corner of Folsom and Hawthorne. His neighbor was **Mathew Cox**, who was the outdoor superintendent of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company Wharf. Cox was a recent immigrant from England as all of his children were English-born. His brother, George, worked with the Pacific Mail Lines as a mariner. At 22 Hawthorne lived **Samuel Perkins**, a lumber merchant from Maine who had been in California for at least 7 years. With the Perkins family lived **John L. Shepherd**, a chemist from New York who worked first as a druggist and later for the San Francisco Chemical Works. The deputy sheriff, **D. W. C. Thompson**, lived at 12 Hawthorne. **Michael Michelson**, the proprietor of the Union Laundry (at Seventh and Folsom), was a Polish immigrant who had been in California for at least 7 years. He and his family and servants lived at 16 Hawthorne in 1861. At 24 Hawthorne was **Joseph Denny**, a contractor and a builder from Pennsylvania, who lived with his wife, Elizabeth Anne (from Maine), and his two grown sons, Charles and William—who worked for their father as a carpenter and as an accountant. At the same address in the following year, we find **Dr. S. M. Tibbitts**, a physician. At 30 Hawthorne was **Rudolph Huchkoffer**, who was born in Italy. He gave the census enumerator his occupation as merchandise broker, but in the City Directory he was also listed as Acting Consul for Chile. His wife, Carolina, was from New York, and his two young children were born in California. With them lived an Irish servant, **Alice M. Ward**, and an Irish seamstress, **Rebecca Donovan**.

Hawthorne became even more upper-class as it reached up above Folsom. Here two of the largest and earliest estates on Rincon Hill were built. Hawthorne was the driveway between **John Parrott's** estate at 620-623 Folsom and the home of **Captain George W. P. Bissell**, whose address would have been 638 Folsom, although his house was set back on Hawthorne Street. Parrott's estate was built in 1854, and at the time of the census this Virginia-born banker was a millionaire. In the Parrott

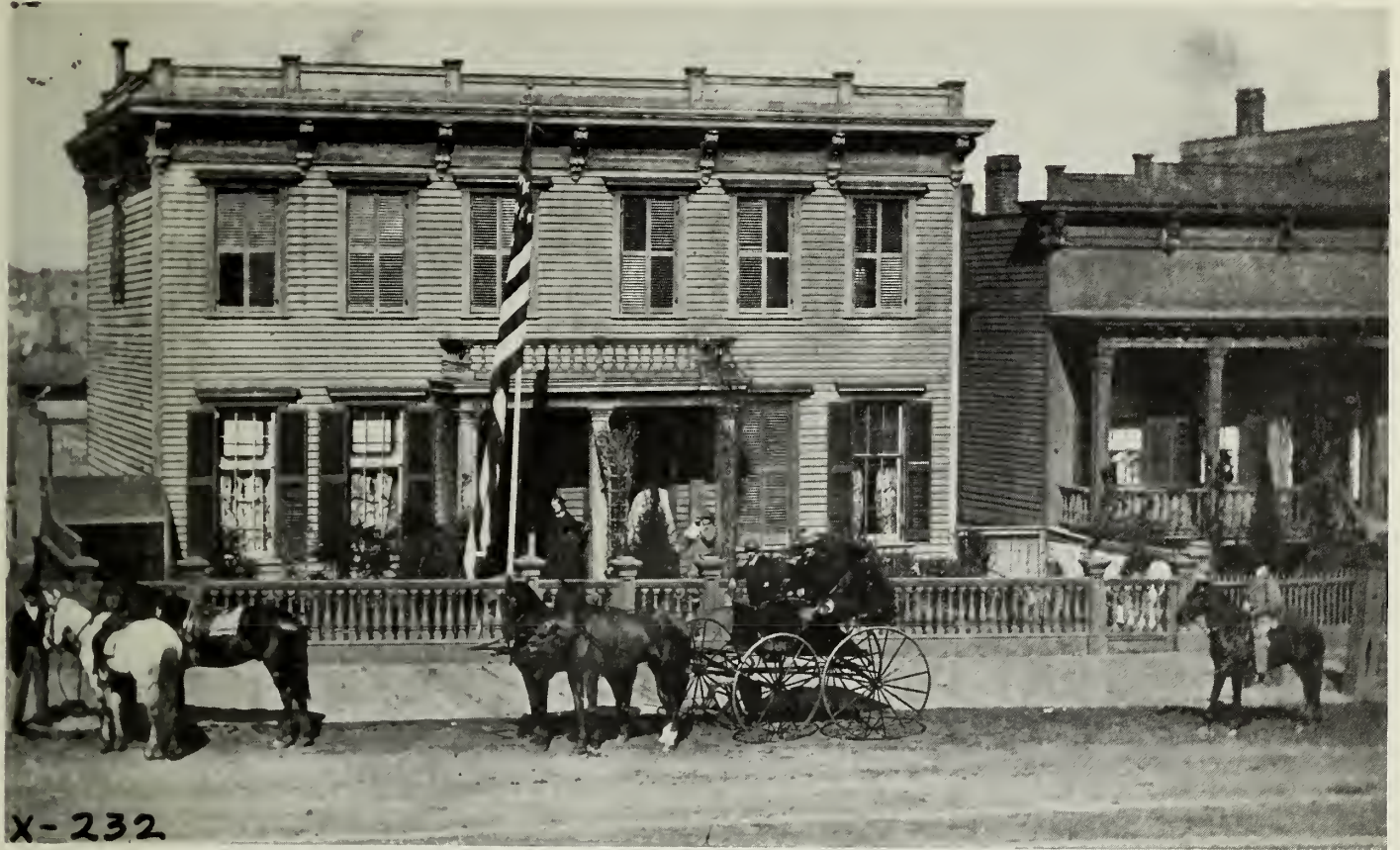


Plate 11: A Harrison Street Home . . .For the folks back East, you run up the flag, trot out the horses and rig, pose the ladies on the porch. Here was the California dream of the '60's—substantial but not lavish. (Society of California Pioneers)

Plate 12: St. Patrick's, 1872 . . . Muybridge made this stereo just after St. Patrick's moved from Market to Mission Street. The homes built in the 1860's were already beginning to look the worse for wear. The house to the far left had been converted to a "Foundling Home." (Bancroft Library)





mansion lived his wife, Abbey, who was 30 years old and born in Maine, together with his children, Mary, Josephine, and John, Jr. To care for his family Parrott had a retinue (by San Francisco standards of the 1850's) that included James Lang, the coachman from Ireland; Alex Bernard, the French chef; John Hampton, an Irish gardener; David Todd, a laborer; Catherine Marten, a nurse; Ann Eustace, a seamstress; and Lizzie (age 16), a nurse's helper from England. The Parrott family have been described in *The Edge of Rincon Hill* (Olmsted, Olmsted, and Pastron 1979: 67-72) along with the other residents, such as **Milton Latham**, who remodeled the Bissell home for his new bride and second wife in the early 1870's.

The 1860 Population of the Yerba Buena Center: The typical image of the South of Market population is one in which the working-class Irish outnumbered everybody else and ran the saloons and the politics that were born there. But this is a "South of the Slot" image, more true of the last years of the century than of 1860. In Ward 10 there were 965 census respondents who lived in the Yerba Buena center and who had listed occupations on the 1860 census schedules. (With few exceptions, this sample by occupation effectively eliminates women from consideration, since the vast majority of women who were of an age to have an occupation were "keeping house"; the only occupations open to women were those of servants, seamstresses, teachers, nurses, and laundresses.) By far and away the largest ethnic group in 1860 were immigrants from New York, New England, and the East Coast--350, or 36% of the employed residents. Scattered through every occupational category, the "Yankees" dominated the clerical ranks, were usually the largest single group of carpenters and contractors, outnumbered the Irish as laborers, monopolized the seafaring trades, and were the only lawyers and physicians in the Yerba Buena Center. Women from the East Coast were the teachers for the rest of the South of Market children.

The second-largest ethnic category were the Irish respondents, 249 or 26%. As might be predicted, the Irish were the working class--the women were the servants and the dressmakers, the men were carpenters, blacksmiths, laborers, painters, and draymen. Not one single Irishman could be found in what might be called "a profession," nor was there a single Irish banker, capitalist, or commission merchant on the YBC site.

However, the absence of upper-middle-class Irish in the YBC should not be extrapolated to all of San Francisco. Certainly the names of **James** and **Peter Donahue** come to mind, in connection with the Union Iron Works, the gas franchise for the city of San Francisco, and the North Beach and South Park Omnibus Railroad Company. But both the Donahue brothers lived north of Market Street. Whether by accident, coincidence, or some reason beyond the research possibilities of this report, we find other Irish immigrants who must be considered to have played important roles in San Francisco's early history living elsewhere in the city in 1859. For example, **Senator David Broderick** was in residence at the Union Hotel. David Scannell, former sheriff, now chief engineer of the San Francisco Fire Department, with offices in City Hall, lived at the northeast corner of Montgomery and Jackson. Going down the list of O'Briens in the 1859 City Directory, among the cooks, laborers, and porters, there was **John O'Brien**, proprietor of the Excelsior Iron Works, who lived on Sacramento between Taylor and Jones. **William O'Brien**, in partnership with **James Flood**, was still only the proprietor of the Auction Lunch, a favored watering-hole of the San Francisco Mining Exchange brokers; in 1873, together with his Virginia City partner, **James Mackay** and **James Fair**, he was to become one of the proprietors of "The Big Bonanza"—the Consolidated-Virginia Mine that produced the biggest nest egg in Comstock mining history. William O'Brien and James Flood both lived north of Market in the 1860's.

The Germans constituted the third-largest ethnic group—191 respondents, or 20%. As has already been observed, the Germans were the South of Market grocers and brewers. Another group of Germans were the comfortably fixed German merchants. They were commission merchants, importers, and retail store owners. Many of the German households brought young girls from Germany to serve as their domestic servants—and that is where we find them, not in other ethnic households. A sizeable group of younger Germans worked as clerks.

The immigrants from England and Scotland made up 6% of the respondents, and the French 2%. For a complete breakdown by occupation and ethnic groups, see the Appendix of this study. There were no Irish or German neighborhoods, as such, in 1860, but rather the neighborhood patterns followed a rule of thumb that the wealthier merchants, bankers,



Plate 13: South of Market Back Streets, 1866 . . . The camera was turned toward Rincon Hill in the distance. Second Street was not cut through. The belfry of the Church of the Advent (left) and the spires of the Howard Street Presbyterian Church mark the line of Howard Street. In the immediate foreground are the rooftops of the workingmen's houses along Jessie and Annie. Crowded in the 1860's, the neighborhood would become even more filled in with backyard buildings by the mid-1880's. This view was taken from the Nucleus Building at Third and Market, seen in Plate 17. (Bancroft Library)



and capitalists built their homes with an eye to a view of San Francisco and the bay. The middle-class chose to build their homes on the broader cross streets--Folsom, Howard, Mission, and Harrison, whereas the working class took what was left over in the form of smaller (and cheaper) houses, on smaller lots, on streets such as Clara, Louisa, Clementina, and Tehama. On these streets the outlook from one house was into another and the yard space was put to the use of a wide variety of jerry-built structures that increased with the density of the population in each succeeding decade.

An example of comfortable middle-class housing can be found in Plate 11, taken in the 1860's, on Harrison Street, probably between Third and Fourth. When the traveling photographer set up his camera, the homeowner trotted out his prize possessions, including horses and a fine carriage, ran up the American flag, and posed his womenfolk on the front porch. In Plate 12 Muybridge caught this Mission Street scene with St. Patrick's for stereoptican viewing, a popular educational pastime in American parlors at the time. But although his purpose must have been to dramatize the completion of St. Patrick's (1872), he angled his lens to include a row of comfortable middle-class houses along Mission Street. Each had its 10-foot step-back fenced garden, and most sported an ornamental tree so prized by Victorian gardeners--the yew, the Norfolk pine, or the Eucalyptus (still saplings in this scene).

Each of these orderly middle-class row houses had to share a backyard fence with the more densely populated scene along Minna Street, much like the view in Plate 13. Taken from the **Nucleus Hotel**, on the southeast corner of Market and Third, in the middle 1860's, the view shows Jessie Street, Mission Street beyond, and the churches on Howard Street in the background, with Second Street rising in the distance at Rincon Hill. But it is the foreground of one-, two-, and three-story houses that enables us to look into the working-class living conditions. Every kind of roofing material was used, including corrugated metal and asphaltum and rooftops were wedged together with connecting stairways and catwalks.

For a progression up Folsom Street from prosperous upper-middle-class homes to lavish Rincon Hill spreads, Plates 14 and 15 best illustrate the heights of ambition. Taken from a balcony on the south side of a

Folsom Street home, Plate 14 looks directly at the block between Third Street and Hawthorne in about 1865. The large masonry building in the background was **Union Hall**, built in 1864. Except for the two Gold Rush houses, farthest to the left, which marked the corner of Third Street, the rest of this Folsom Street row were San Francisco homes occupied by the **Morton Cheeseman** family (a banker from New York), **John Levy**, a jeweler and engraver from Wertenburg, and **Herman Mitchell**, a wealthy commission merchant from Germany. If the photographer had continued his row, the next home to the right would have been that of **Milton Latham**, seen in Plate 15. The Latham home was owned in the late 1850's by **Captain George Bissell**, who was a money broker with the banking company of **Alsop and Company**. Later it was sold to **Joseph "Ophir" Woodworth**, who in turn sold it to Milton Latham in 1867. Milton Latham had it completely remodeled and deeded over to his new bride as a considerate wedding gift, estimated at \$300,000 in value. Latham was manager of the **London and San Francisco Bank**, with connections with the Rothchilds abroad. Perhaps one of the few men richer than Milton Latham was John Parrott, whose more formal estate was just across the line of Hawthorne.

Second Street was the fashionable shopping street for the Rincon Hill and South Park residents. The blocks from Market to Howard were lined with a variety of fancy-book importers, mantilla makers, hair-dressers, dry goods stores, and milliners. These can be seen in Plate 16, taken in 1865. Beyond Howard Street, Second Street became residential and it was an easy afternoon walk down from Rincon Hill to browse among the fancier shops and indulge expensive whims. Third Street was the working-class thoroughfare, and few pictures have thus far turned up that give us a vivid picture of the myriad of small shops intermixed with cottages and boarding houses that were already lining the street. Plate 17 of the **Nucleus Hotel** on the southeastern corner of Third and Market, taken just after 1865, shows the eastern side of Third south to Mission, marked by the **Popper Building** that was damaged in the earthquake of 1865.

Both the Nucleus and the Popper buildings were the most elaborate and imposing structures on the side of Third Street that the camera caught (although shadows on the street indicate that three-story buildings



Plate 14: The Folsom Street Row, 1865 . . . Commission merchants and bankers, comfortably esconced in upper-middle class homes built in the early 1860's, could always move higher on Rincon Hill if business improved. (Both views, California Historical Society)

Plate 15: The Latham Mansion . . . A proper honeymoon gift from a banker to his bride—a wedding present worth \$300,000. Milton Latham's spread adjoined the row above. John Parrott's mansion (to the far right) was just one notch higher on Rincon Hill.



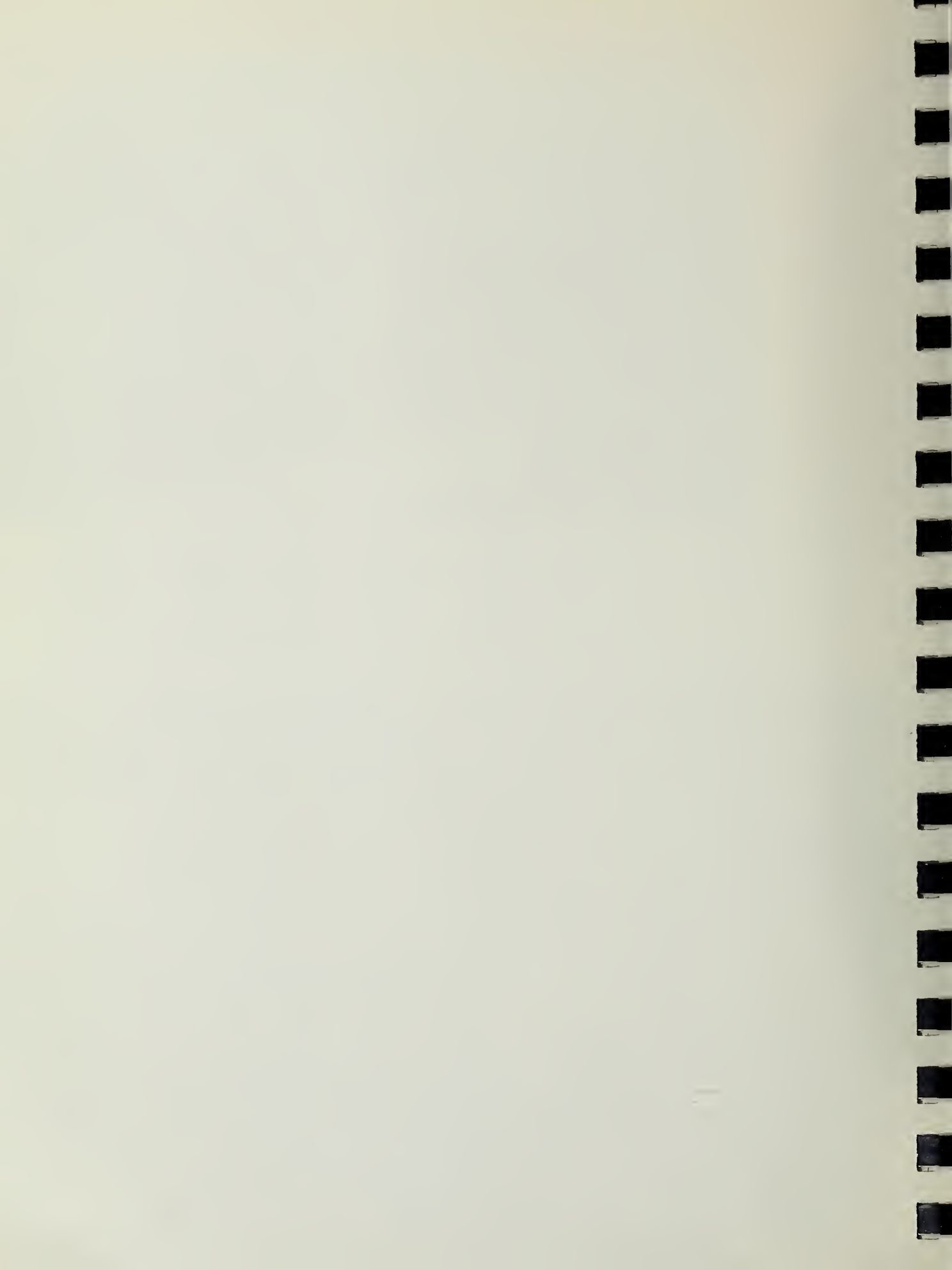
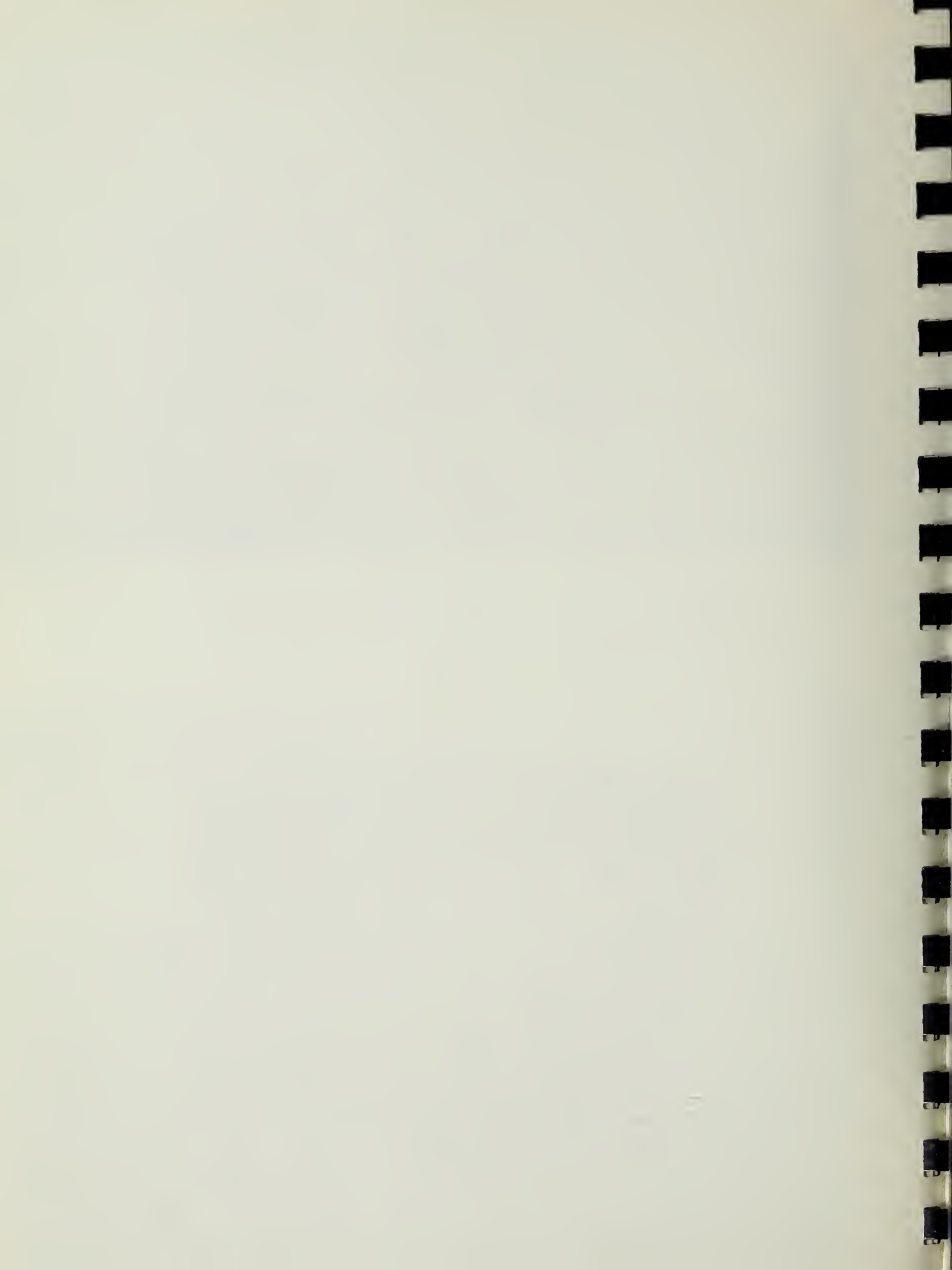




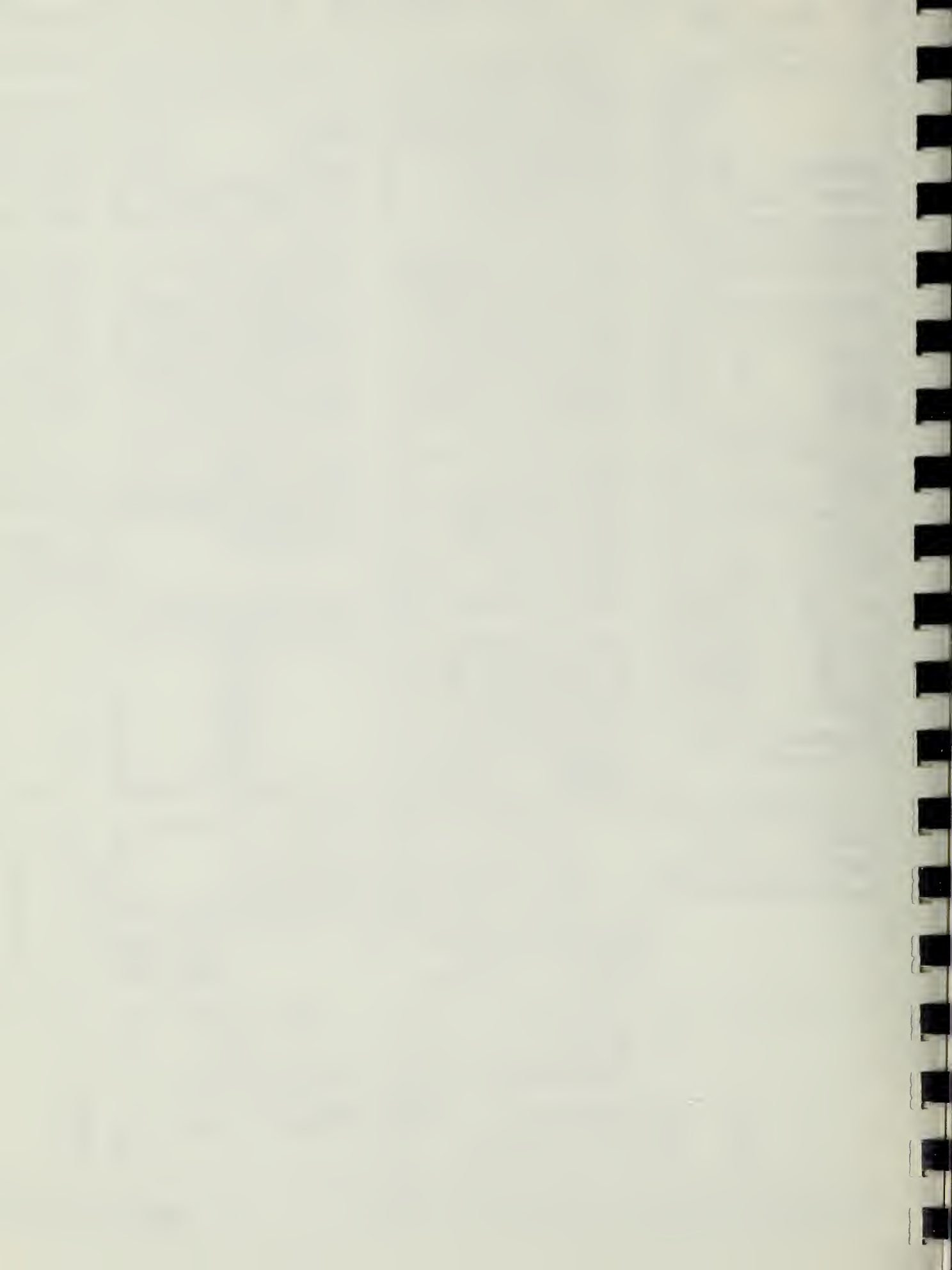
Plate 16: Second Street, Before the Cut . . . Both views were made in 1865 when Second Street was the smart shopping row for the Rincon Hill folk.

Plate 17: The Nucleus Building at Market and Third marked the turn for the horsecars from the South of Market to the waterfront. (Both: Bancroft)





were not unknown on the west side of Third). The broad-planked wooden sidewalks were partially sheltered by overhanging awnings on the front of the shops, one of which boasted a big boot on the roof to advertise the wares. In comparison to the more distinctly urban look of Second Street, seen in Plate 16, it would appear that Third Street still retained a more rural quality as late as 1865-66. The horsecar line from the Omnibus Stables made Third Street the natural, cheap and fast passage to the financial district and to the waterfront. It would remain the main transportation corridor until Long Bridge was completed in 1865, and the gathering boom became a period of frantic land speculation that heated up as the arrival of the first transcontinental railroad connection drew nearer.



Chapter VII

BUILDING THE CITY SOUTH OF MARKET . . . 1861-1881

When Selim Woodworth bought Lot #22 on April 17, 1847, for the sum of \$28.68-1/2, he may have considered that he was making a prudent investment, given the small sum involved (Wheeler 1852). The lot was on Market Street directly opposite the foot of Montgomery. During the Gold Rush it would be fair to say that his investment grew in value to at least \$10,000, but it was in the feverish decade from 1860 to 1870 that land speculation South of Market drove the asking price up to half a million. But the earthquake of 1868 shook it into Asbury Harpending's hands at \$150,000. In Harpending's own words as real estate speculator:

Few seem to understand the decade between 1860 and 1870 was, next to the gold age of the '50's, the most important in the history of California. It was the period of transition from the fierce exploitation of the pioneers who looked only on the region as a thing to be despoiled of its treasures and to be abandoned. It saw the silent valleys changed to broad oceans of waving grain. It saw the foothills crowned with thrifty vineyards. . . . It saw the port of San Francisco crowded with masts of vessels to carry its new-found wealth to distant lands, saw a mighty foreign commerce develop, saw the treasures of the Comstock unlocked, saw a railroad stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific. . . . It was an intense, booming, hopeful decade, a period of great events and great men, when everyone at last realized that gold was the smallest part of the State's resources (Harpending 1913: 110).

As Harpending pointed out, "In the early '60's no one thought of Market Street except as a disfigurement to the city and a broad impediment to its progress. It began almost nowhere . . . and terminated--so far as traffic and settlement were concerned--exactly nowhere in the desolate sand hills" (Harpending 1912: 114). Harpending began to pick up Market

Street frontage with an eye to cutting Montgomery Street through to the Bay early in the 1860's.

Very early in 1860 the cry was "Montgomery Street Straight," and as a contemporary map of the city shows, the dream was to cut Montgomery Street on a diagonal line straight through, crossing Market Street Lots 22 and 23 to Mission, passing diagonally across Third to angle through the present-day Moscone Convention Center Block, across Townsend and Channel Streets to Connecticut Street, which, with the slightest of bends, carried it to Islais Creek. As Harpending noted, the plan might have gotten through except for the opposition of the Catholic Church, which owned the large block of land where the Palace Hotel was later built. But to Harpending a failed scheme simply spawned another in its place, and all to his own advantage. He grandly proposed giving the city of San Francisco a "New Montgomery" Street proceeding parallel to Second Street, south to the bay. He knew that the terminus of the Central Pacific Railroad would be South of Market and that the southern waterfront property, previously used mostly for the grain, hay, and lumber trades, would take on enormous significance as a result. Needless to say, Harpending with his mentor Ralston, had purchased the key waterfront lot at the foot of Second Street, belonging to Henry Tichener. As described more fully in *The Edge of Rincon Hill—Eastern Block 3* (Olmsted, Olmsted, and Pastron 1979), palms were greased in Sacramento and only the intransigent stance of Milton Latham and John Parrott (whose front yards would have become part of the New Montgomery cut) prevented Harpending and Ralston from carrying through their imaginative plans to fill Mission Bay with the debris from Rincon Hill and open enormous tracts of land for development.

But if this was the grander scheme, the story behind its beginning bears repeating as an illustration of the speculative fever of the times as seen through the eyes of one of San Francisco's smartest operators. Asbury Harpending, in setting up the New Montgomery scheme, began quietly buying up a solid block of land straight through from Howard Street to Market (EB-1 and EB-2). He bought land at "pitifully small prices," spending in all less than \$500,000. He had purchased the Sutter Street "gore" (a pie-shaped lot on the north side of Market) for \$86,000. He had purchased 60 feet adjoining the church property on Market, and



Plate 18: Market Street in the Mid-1860's . . . This view shows the south side of Market Street between Third and Fourth streets, and the date on the photograph, 1865, appears to be approximately correct. Plank sidewalks and dim gas lamps were still the accepted, if not latest, style, but the crossing (though probably not the street) has been paved with stone. The large building at the left was the Nucleus, at Third Street, seen in Plate 13. The stone obelisks at the curb in the foreground served the practical function of hitching posts, unlike the variously-shaped granite bollards that form part of the decor of current Market Street intersections. (Bancroft Library)



all that stood in the way of opening New Montgomery and converting all Harpending's back-alley lots into first-class frontage was lot #22, owned by Selim Woodworth, whose final word to Harpending was, "If you want that property it will cost you precisely half a million. There is nothing further to be said on the subject" (Harpending 1913: 117). But on the morning after the 1868 earthquake--which in Harpending's own words, "was quite a jolt and the most disquieting feature was it didn't know when to stop"--one of the first men he met in the business section was Selim Woodworth, who was carrying a handbag and "showed evidence of mental strain." Never at a loss for a deal, Harpending taunted Woodworth with a description of his Market Street property: "Who on earth would want to buy a property that might be a hole in the ground by night all the way to China?" Selim pressed Asbury to make an offer, \$150,000 was sealed with a handshake on the spot, and as Woodworth spent the year in Europe, Harpending proceeded to build his Grand Hotel and to give "New Montgomery Street" to the city, although he added, typically, "I had to scatter numerous shekels among the 'boys' before the gift was finally accepted" (Harpending 1913: 119).

Harpending may have been one of the first smart operators to realize that the city was growing southward, but he only had to read the *Alta* to pick up the extent of the enthusiasm.

This city is growing southward. A year ago [1863] the waters of the southern bay dashed against a bleak and lonely front, stretching from a rocky barren and forlorn ridge, for a distance of a half a mile or more. Since then what a change! The foot of Third Street is now the terminus of the **Omnibus Railway** and the hotel whose enterprising proprietor, Farr, has done so much for excavating that thoroughfare to bring cars to the bay waters, is reaping a rich reward for his exertions. Steamboat Point which was but four years ago almost uninhabited waste is now covered with manufactories, shops, saloons, and dwellings. The 'resurrected' **Comanche** lies in an adjoining yard and hundreds of loyal citizens visit the spot daily to see her, to be sure only in **pieces**, soon to be put together again in her proper element. Just eastward on the foot of Third Street the **Citizens Gas Company** is engaged in an immense enterprise, which when fully carried out must involve an expenditure of one million dollars. This company's land is bounded by Townsend, Second, and Berry. They have two lots of 275 feet. In the rear of this front is a precipitous bank of soft rock and dirt presenting a face towards the bay of 100 feet in height. From this cliff the earth is obtained for filling

up the water lots below. At the present [May 2, 1864] some hands are employed in working into the cliff and carting the rock and dirt to the beach below. Laborers are industriously engaged in 'cribbing' the water front lots and filling in from the bank (*Alta California*, May 2, 1864).

The building of Long Bridge at the foot of Fourth Street marked another profound change in character of the Yerba Buena Center. Whereas Third Street had dominated the flow the traffic, now Fourth Street emerged as the workmen's thoroughway to the Potrero. The first pile of Long Bridge was driven February 6, 1865, and 24,791 caps and piles later the bridge enclosed Mission Bay, carrying horsecar tracks to the growing industrial center of the Potrero.

The Coast Survey Chart for San Francisco for 1869 was published at a scale of 1:40,000, but from 1:10,000-scale sheets for topographic work done in 1867 and 1868, Map 3 shows the Yerba Buena Center redrawn from the Coast Survey Chart, which was highly stylized at that scale, but gives the observer a sense of the buildup of structures all over the Yerba Buena Center at that time. Only three blocks had considerable amounts of open space. Eastern Block 3 had the Folsom Street row, seen in Plate 14, but the backyards were large, and Hawthorne Street had not yet been cut through. Eastern Block 4 was largely undeveloped on the eastern side of Third, and Western Block 4 was not totally built up along Fourth Street. In total contrast, the central blocks of the YBC were almost totally filled with structures that would be much like those that appear on the Sanborn Maps some 20 years later.

The detailed portions of two birdseye views completed in 1864 and 1868 give the best overview of the growth of the city on its southern front. Plate 19, a remarkably accurate lithograph executed by C. B. Gifford in 1864, shows Market Street and Folsom Street running parallel on either side of Tar Flat, which was being filled at the time. The ships lie along Steuart Street loading lumber and grain. First Street is marked by the chimneys of the busy foundries. Howard Street can be recognized by the spire of the Church of the Advent. In the artist's conception, a cloud lay over much of the Yerba Buena site, but careful examination reveals that between Market and Howard, from Second (which ran up Rincon Hill to Harrison) through Fourth, not very much building activity



Plate 19: Birdseye View, 1864 . . . This view by C. B. Gifford, as other Gifford "birdseye" lithographs, was much more accurate than most of the views of this popular type. In the YBC area, the Howard Street churches, the Philadelphia Brewery, Union Hall, and even Rincon Hill residences with identifiable architectural peculiarities can be identified. Given this level of meticulous detailing, we may take the leveled and largely built-up aspect of the YBC area as accurately reflecting the impact of the construction boom of the early 1860's. (Bancroft Library)



had gone on. The dark form of just-completed Union Hall can be seen marking the Moscone Convention Center block.

Named in celebration of the Federal Union, **Union Hall** opened August 6, 1864. It also advertised James Donahue's gas franchise, being the first public building in San Francisco to use gas torches inside and out. Donahue's new Omnibus Railroad horsecar line operated out of the first floor; the hall, with ample space for balls and theatricals, was above. It was the first convention center on the Yerba Buena site. And it was typical of the times to use a patriotic theme for a highly successful business venture. A fancy butter, eggs, and produce market operated on the first-floor frontage, dancing masters gave classes in the ballroom, and visiting fleets (such as that of the Czar) gave lavish balls attended by the locals, who admired "its marble fountains with splashing water, birds in gilded cages, and tropical plants (Weittig April, 1931: 13). (For a fuller description of Union Hall see the **Yerba Buena Convention Center**, Olmsted, Olmsted, and Pastron 1977.)

Central Block 4, as seen in the 1864 lithograph (south of Harrison) appears to be fairly well developed into a residential section of small houses, but farther south the area remained largely undeveloped. Rincon Hill is shown as fully built up with large homes. The large dark building on a small cliff near the waterfront was the Sailor's Home on Harrison, between Main and Beale.

The second lithograph, made in 1868, Plate 20, was drawn from a slightly different angle, but it shows the astonishing buildup South of Market. Long Bridge angles out from Fourth Street to cross Mission Bay, enclosing the shallows that are yet to be filled. At the foot of Second Street, the big Pacific Mail Dock has been added, with its familiar shed extending the length of the wharf. The tall obelisk is the Shelby Shot Tower at the corner of Howard and First. The twin spires of the Howard Street Presbyterian Church are just beyond the Church of the Advent on Howard. In comparison to the earlier view in Plate 19, the Yerba Buena Center area is now almost totally built up.

This spurt of growth was partly in anticipation of the coming of the transcontinental railroad. But it was a combination of factors that turned the boom into nearly feverish speculation.

Hittell commented that the winter of 1866-67 had brought half more than normal rainfall, and with it a bumper wheat crop; the export of merchandise increased to \$22,000,000--an increase of \$5,000,000 from the year before. Combined with the big grain trade with Europe was the rise in silver yield in Nevada, with dividends to San Francisco of \$3,800,000--this figure being twice as much as in 1866. Land between Battery and Montgomery rose to \$3,000 per front foot. "The fever of land speculation was so active that the old steam excavator could not keep pace with the demand for grading, so a new one was imported and set to work. . . . The stone dry-dock at Hunter's point was finished at the same time. The growth of the city was most active south of Market Street, and the steam cars which had been running on that street to the Mission for seven years, were now stopped in accordance with the general demand and horses were substituted. . . . The progress of the Central Pacific railroad became a matter of great interest in 1867 to San Franciscans. . . . This was the great work to which they had long looked forward as necessary to the proper development of industry and commerce in California, and as the time for its completion drew near they were filled with confidence that the city and state were about to enter an era of prosperity more brilliant than any known in the past" (Hittell 1878: 366-367).

Hittell undoubtedly correctly assessed the confidence of the people. Perhaps the only voice raised in doubt was that of Henry George, writing in the **Overland Monthly** in 1868:

All over the State, land is appreciating--fortunes are being made in a day by buying and parcelling out Spanish ranches; the Government surveyors and registrars are busy; speculators are grappling the public domain by the hundreds of thousands of acres; while for miles in every direction around San Francisco, ground is being laid off into homestead lots. The spirit of speculation doubles, trebles, quadruples the past growth of the city in its calculations, and then discounts the result, confident that there still remains a margin. And it is not far wrong. . . .

The new era into which our State is about entering--or, perhaps, to speak more correctly, has already entered--is without doubt an era of steady, rapid, and substantial growth; of great addition to population and immense increase in the totals of the Assessor's lists. Yet we cannot hope to escape the great law of compensation which extracts some loss for every gain. . . . For years the high rate of interest and



Plate 20: Birdseye View, 1868 . . . This second Gifford lithograph might be titled "the Continuing Boom." Tar Flat has been filled and partially developed with new industrial sites, new landmarks (the Shot Tower at First and Howard, the new Howard Methodist Church on Mission near Third) are seen, and in the Yerba Buena Center area almost nothing that looks like open space can be found. (Bancroft Library)



the high rate of wages prevailing in California have been special subjects for the lamentations of a certain school of local political economists, who could not see that high wages and high interest were indication that the natural wealth of the country was not yet monopolized. . . . The truth is that the completion of the railroad . . . will not be a benefit to all of us but only to a portion. As a general rule those who **have**, it will make wealthier; for those who **have not**, it will make it more difficult to get. . . . Those who have land, mines, established businesses, special abilities of certain kinds, will become richer for it and find increased opportunities; those who have only their own labor will become poorer, and find it harder to get ahead--first, because it will take more capital to buy land or to get into business; and second, because as competition reduces the wages of labor, this capital will be harder for them to obtain. . . . that it will be harder in the future for a poor man to get a farm or homestead lot. . . . the settler who last year might have had at once a farm of his own, must now either go to work on wages for some one else, pay rent, or buy on time; in either case being compelled to give to the capitalist a large proportion of the earning, which had he arrived a year ago, he might have had all for himself. . . . The locomotive is a great centralizer. It kills little towns and builds up great cities, and in the same way kills little businesses and builds up great ones.

What constitutes the peculiar charm of California? which all who have lived here long enough feel? Not the climate alone. . . . In California there has been a certain cosmopolitanism, a certain freedom and breadth of common thought and feeling, natural to a community made up from so many different sources, to which every man and woman has been transplanted . . . with the native angularities of prejudice and habit more or less worn off. While we have had not very rich class, we have had no really poor class (George 1868: 290).

What the Railroad Brought--S.F. in the 1870's

The decade of the 1870's opened and ended with economic troubles for San Francisco. The completion of the transcontinental railroad tied San Francisco and California to the national market and stimulated a new wave of immigration. While these people searched for jobs, the economy of California suffered a jolt caused by the dumping of Eastern goods on the market, a severe drought which injured agriculture, and a fall in the extraction of minerals from the gold and silver mines. From this

inauspicious beginning in 1870, the chronic problems of unemployment and underemployment remained throughout the decade. The labor movement which had made such great advances in the 1860's collapsed early in the decade and did not revive until the 1880's. A short-lived organization, The Workingman's Party of California, rose in the latter part of the decade but died quickly of a lack of some cohesive program more far-reaching than opposition to the Chinese. This period of San Francisco history directly affected the South of Market residents because it was there that many of the poor and the Old World immigrants collected with their dreams and their hopes.

Perhaps the most prescient of the prophets in San Francisco during this period was Henry George, the political economist. In 1868, George commented on what the completion of the railroad would bring.

The truth is that, the completion of the railroad and the consequent great increase in business will not be a benefit to all of us but only a portion. As a general rule those who **have** it will make wealthier; and those who **have not**, it will make it more difficult to get. . . . And so in San Francisco the rise in building lots means, that it will be harder for a poor man to get a house and a lot for himself, and if he has none that he will have to use more of his earnings for rent; means the crowding of the poorer classes together; signifies courts, slums, tenement-houses, squalor and vice (George October, 1868: 290).

George's comments came at a time when the workingman was bathing in a boom period with high wages and political initiatives afoot, such as the eight-hour day, that promised a lasting foundation to economic prosperity. Industries like agriculture, mining, and the rapidly growing manufactures competed for the services of the worker. Then the railroad brought a wave of new immigration, cheaper Eastern manufactured goods, and (at a lag of about two years) the East Coast's celebrated Panic of '73.

Labor then faced a buyer's market, and "the iron law of wages"--pay rates that approached the minimum required for survival--bid fair to rule in California as in England. In the winter months, when migrant field workers looked for jobs in San Francisco, the evils of unemployment became even more distressingly visible South of Market and on the City Front.



Plate 21: The Yerba Buena Center Site, 1876 . . . This portion of Edward Muybridge's famous 360-degree panorama of the city, from the tower of the Mark Hopkins mansion on Nob Hill, shows the dramatic bulk of the new Palace Hotel at the left. Beyond the Palace, the cliff of the Second Street cut can be seen, with its Harrison Street bridge. To the right of the Palace, the angle in the front of the Nucleus Building marks Third and Market, and one can see down Third Street all the way to the bay. St. Patrick's Church rises as the most prominent landmark between Third and Fourth. Fourth Street formed the approach to Long Bridge, which crossed Mission Bay to the Potrero. (National Maritime Museum, S.F.)



In addition to these sources of labor, the Chinese steadily increased in number during the period. Hittell figured the growing number of Chinese in California to be:

	Chinese	Total Population
1860	34,933	379,994
1870	49,277	560,247
1880	75,122	864,686

The increase in Chinese over the twenty year period was 115% while the total increase of population was 127%. However, the percentage figures concealed a good bit of the real impact. While the total California population increase included women and children, the Chinese increase consisted overwhelmingly of working-age males. So, while a typical immigrant family supplied one or sometimes two people to the work force, practically all of the Chinese arrivals directly competed for jobs in the market-place--ever more directly with the white worker. The Chinese worked for less money, for they did not have families to support and were willing to live in conditions otherwise seen most frequently in railroad work trains, primitive mining camps, and the forecastles of Cape Horn "hell ships." There is very little record of unemployed Chinese, for they were most likely taken care of within the Chinatown communities.

In San Francisco, the competition between the Chinese and the white workers was even more intense than in the rest of California. In 1880 there were approximately 19,000 to 22,000 working-age Chinese males in the city, the somewhat lower figure a calculation based on a census age and sex profile for the state (that is skewed somewhat because of the inclusion of a large number of native Indians in the same category), the higher figure is one offered by J. S. Hittell in his 1882 **Commerce and Industries**. The 1880 census gave the total Chinese population of San Francisco at 21,213. The census was certain to have been an undercount, the question in the case of the Chinese being whether the undercount was extremely large or merely substantial. In 1876 the Chinese Six

Companies (who were the major factor in importation of Chinese laborers) estimated the Chinese in California to be 148,000, while the 1880 census counted only 75,122. The Six Companies may have had reason to present the largest figure that could be supported by any show of evidence; but all things considered, J. S. Hittell's estimate of 22,000 working-age Chinese in San Francisco (as related to our calculation based on the age 15 to 55 census groupings) appeared by no means too high.

The white male population of the same working-age group in San Francisco in 1880 (as extrapolated from the statewide age profile in the census), would have been about 74,500. But while "working age," this population was not so largely "working class" as the Chinese. Thus, any sort of estimate of the work force available to engage in the kinds of trades the Chinese had entered in large numbers (such as cigarmaking or shoemaking), or might enter in the future, will suggest that a very large percentage of the available "blue-collar" workers in San Francisco at this time was Chinese. There is not enough evidence to make a firm estimate as to the percentage of Chinese available in the unskilled and semiskilled labor force (itself a rather ill-defined category), but it would appear to have been at least 33% in San Francisco in the late 1870's.

We have given some attention to these statistics because both the standard authorities and some recent historians have presented figures that for one reason or another raised questions or seemed not to address very clearly the issue as to just how many Chinese laborers were in fact competing with (or might have been thought potential competitors to), say, Irish workers. It would appear that a justifiable antipathy on the part of educated observers or subsequent analysts to the obnoxious characteristics of the anti-Chinese movement and the gross oversimplification implicit in the presentation of "The Chinese Must Go!" as a panacea for the ills of the times and as a cheap tool of political opportunism has led these historians to present easily acquired statistics that tend to show that the "Chinese threat" was not so great as the demagogues made it out. Neil Shumsky, in his *Tar Flat* study, has most recently estimated that the Chinese represented at this time about 25% of the unskilled and semiskilled labor force. This is the highest figure that we have seen presented in a solid and broad study--and it is apparent

that this estimate must be taken as an extremely conservative figure.

The depression of the late 1870's in San Francisco was certainly not the result of Chinese competition in the labor market. There were oversupply and unemployment in trades that employed no Chinese workers. If "cheap labor" was what San Francisco needed to create an economic boom--a sentiment often voiced--it is curious that there was no great boom in those businesses that did benefit from low Chinese wages. But there was also a basis in real and potential economic competition to the anti-Chinese thrust of the workingman's movement that developed in the South of Market during these years.

When the immigrants could find work, the decline of wages during the '70's meant smaller paychecks. The following table from Shumsky illustrates the decline and compares the daily wages to those on the East Coast.

Occupation	1870		1880	
	S.F.	N.Y.	S.F.	N.Y.
Bricklayers	5.00	3.16	4.00	3.12
Carpenters	3.85	2.88	3.35	3.41
Hod Carriers	3.00	1.96	2.50	2.03
Laborers	2.00	1.76	2.00	1.39
Machinists	3.37	2.27	3.03	2.53
Masons, Stone	5.00	2.89	4.89	2.50
Plumbers	3.86	2.76	3.63	3.39
Teamsters	2.64	1.70	2.68	2.49

(Shumsky 1966: 48)

Hittell's figures differ somewhat from Shumsky's, but are generally in line. Bricklayers, \$3.50; carpenters, \$3.00; hod carriers, \$2.50; laborers, \$2; machinists, \$3.25; stone masons, \$3.30. An interesting note in Hittell's listing of wages in 1882 is that white broom-makers made \$50 per month and Chinese \$35. Chinese received \$.90 a day as oakum pickers, \$1.25 as boxmakers, \$1 as gluemakers, \$1 as collarmakers, \$1.10 as operators in woolen mills, and \$1 as tanners. White Oakum-pickers got \$2-2.50,

white boxmakers, \$1.75-2 (Hittell 1882: 101). This decline in wages, together with high unemployment, left the people who came to California with a sense of lost opportunity. The workers who saw the good times of the '60's could only sit helplessly by in the depression of the '70's. Labor movements died, as they often did in bad times, when it was easy to get men to work at any wages.

Even though manufacturers in San Francisco made great strides in output during the decade, unemployment remained chronic. Replacement of the women in the woolen mills, shirt factories, and cigar factories by the Chinese further aggravated the problem. The following table from Shumsky illustrates the penetration of the Chinese into particular trades in San Francisco, as taken from the 1880 census:

S.F. Industry	Total Employees	Labor Force Born In "other countries" (China)	Per- cent
Boots and Shoes	3358	1985	29.1
Cigars & Tobacco	2938	2602	88.5
Textile Mills	494	113	22.8
Mills	367	100	27.3
Manufacturing Firms	344	101	29.4
Clothing	5858	1545	26.2

(Shumsky, 1966: 52)

Shumsky's table chose those industries which the Chinese were known to have dominated during the mid-1870's. The "other" in the census, of course, includes other foreign-born than Chinese but Shumsky reports that his figures were independently confirmed by another scholar as being very nearly correct, which would speak to the near-monopoly by the Chinese in these industries, by 1880.

The growth of Chinese competition in the labor market, however large in some industries, was still limited to these comparatively few trades. The more general decline in wages in nearly all trades reflected competition among white laborers, the result of new immigration exceeding the growth of the job market. Statistics tell part of the story, but do not in themselves tell us what it was like to be trying to find and keep a job south of Market in the 1870's.

Diary of a Workingman South of Market

The abundant reminiscences of the old-timers who wrote for **The South of Market Journal** during the 1920's provide a great deal of information about places and people, activities and businesses, events and common-places of the 1870's and thereabouts. But recollections of the scenes of childhood or youth are different from contemporary observation. In the diary of Frank Roney, for the period of April, 1875, to March, 1876, we find information of a different sort, material that adds important detail and texture to a picture of the place and times.

Frank Roney had arrived as an Irish immigrant in New York City in 1866. A *bona fide* Irish revolutionary organizer, he had some of the character and characteristics of the German and other Continental refugees of the failed revolutions of 1848--a year in which the huge Irish immigration to America was mainly the result of the failure of potatoes rather than politics. His westering had taken him to St. Louis and Chicago, then out to Omaha, where his restless drive for social reform through organization took the shape of labor unionism in the formation of Local #190 of the Iron Moulders Union in the Union Pacific Railroad shops. Moving on to Salt Lake City, that curious waystop of the Course of Empire, he became involved in introducing trade unionism into entrepreneurial theocracy--with some success, as Mormonism was not antithetical to the concept of organization that resulted in higher production at the price of better pay and practical arrangements that would have had frightening connotations of Satanistic socialism elsewhere. It would appear that Roney's bride may have borne their son at Salt Lake. And a Mormon town was in the last analysis no homeland for an Irish reformer; with a family to think about, the industrial capital at the end of the transcontinental rails offered the variety of opportunity of a cosmopolitan city not yet set in its ways. His union connections gave him introduction to men who might get him a job in San Francisco and it seems clear that he came to the city more intent on bettering himself and his family than on plunging into the later political and labor organization activities that set him apart from those

of his fellows who never looked beyond the goal of personal security and private economic advancement.

Roney's autobiography, **Frank Roney, Irish Rebel and California Labor Leader**, he wrote before 1920, at the urging of Ira B. Cross, of the University of California at Berkeley (it was published in 1931). The segment dealing with his initial period of settling-in South of Market, the year covered by the diary, is only summarized in the autobiography, with little reference to his personal domestic and employment problems: such is the character of retrospection.

The diary is quite incomplete--not only physically, but in that Roney's style, habits (or not) of entry, and even intentions appear wildly inconsistent. The diary probably was the result of a resolution by Roney to create a self-conscious record of the experiences and thoughtful observations of a highly literate workingman newly arrived in the fabled young Metropolis of the Pacific. If this seems a high-flown interpretation of his intent, it must be kept in mind that San Francisco and California had a long record of impressing themselves on the imagination as places where the everyday experience would be of more than ordinary quality and interest. The Fortyniners had an extraordinary self-consciousness and produced an extraordinary quantity of diaries. The immigrants of the 1870's were not participants in so clear an event as the Gold Rush, nor were they anywhere near so literate as a class, but it would be a mistake to underrate the degree to which they may have sensed themselves part of a historic movement.

Consider, for example, this entry in Roney's diary, from which we have deleted a tedious description of the common holocaust-by-earthquake:

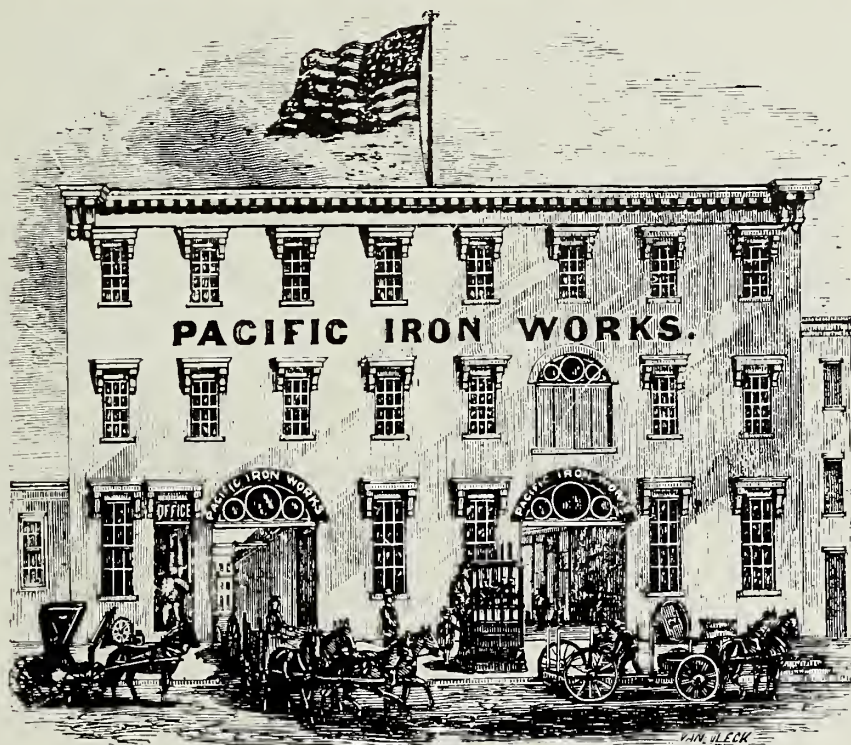
When I look around me in such a city as this and notwithstanding the number of schools, the number and variety of churches, the philanthropic organizations and the vigilance of the municipal authorities, vice in every form stalks rampant and seems as irrepressible as a great conflagration is to a well organized fire department when the supply of water is exhausted and it is left to career to its end when no longer fed with material to increase its ravages. San Francisco with all its pretensions to greatness is

IRA P. RANKIN.

A. P. BRAYTON.

PACIFIC IRON WORKS

First and Fremont Sts., between Mission and Howard, San Francisco, Cal.



ESTABLISHED IN 1850.

RANKIN, BRAYTON & CO.

— MANUFACTURERS OF —

ENGINES and BOILERS, Marine and Stationary, PUMPING, HOISTING and MINING Machinery,
Including Batteries, Amalgamating Pans and Settlers, Concentrators, Ore
Feeders, Crushing Rolls and Rock Breakers.

Also, WATER JACKET SMELTING FURNACES, for Reducing Lead, Silver and Cop-
per Ores; Quicksilver Furnaces; Retorts and Condensers; ROASTING and
CHLORODIZING FURNACES; Sugar Mill Machinery; Propeller
and Steamboat Engines, Water Wheels, etc., all of the
latest and most approved construction.

Agents for the Allen Engine Governor, Bailey Air Compressor, Howell's Improved
White Furnace, Wheeler Ore Breaker, Walker's Compound Steam
Pumps, etc. Bruckner Cylinder Furnaces.

Plate 22: As the Mines Went Deeper the Pacific Iron Works Grew Bigger . . . Since 1850, this had been one of San Francisco's most successful iron works. When Frank Roney reported to work on April 18, 1875, the plant would have appeared much like this 1879 advertisement in **Langley's City Directory**. He was afraid to ask what his salary as a journeyman moulder would be. About \$3.50 a day was what he could expect.



not great in this particular. . . . And indeed it would seem from the manner of living they have, that the people only wish to live a short and merry and reckless life. It almost reminds one of a song made and sung by a crowd of roisterers during a plague. . . .

Against this background, the tribulations of the daily life of an honest workingman and his little family were to be set forth by Frank Roney. Fortunately, Roney did write down quite a bit of minutia. It may be unfortunate that he was not sufficiently disciplined as a diarist to keep up the work, but his very inconsistency resulted in presenting different classes of information at different times. Thus, we find sometimes the public Roney, looking for work or embroiled with the furniture dealer; sometimes the private Roney, expressing his anxieties about the foreman, or fudging, even to his diary, about how much he drank the night before; and sometimes Roney, the chronologist, noting Sunday outings, and finally the day-to-day accounting of his output of iron--this latter having to do with his rough calculation of the returns to labor as opposed to those of capital.

The beginning of the diary is missing. No doubt it starts with reflections set out in the best of Roney's very good hand; but as we have it, the document plunges us right into the midst of the economic problems of a recent immigrant to the South of Market. Roney's wife is expecting their second child:

. . . . and as the situation is about as disagreeable as it well can be and as my wife is in no condition to be on a continual move, I have decided to remain where I am, No. 37 Clementina Street, till I find myself in more favored circumstances. If I could have resold what things I got from Borren at near what I paid for them, I would have taken furnished lodgings and remained so for two or 3 months to come until I had got somewhat established and become more familiar with the place and its customs. I began work on the 12th inst. in the Pacific Iron Works. E. Jones, Foreman. What my wages is I don't yet know and may not for some 6 weeks yet. If I could have what is coming to me each week, in a very little

time I would have things all O.K., but while I want money very badly I cannot afford to forfeit my job. I have asked Lowell for the loan of some money, which he has promised to let me have today (18th) and if he does it will help to straighten matters a little. I must have money this coming week, come from where it may, because I have no fuel and that alone is most indispensable.

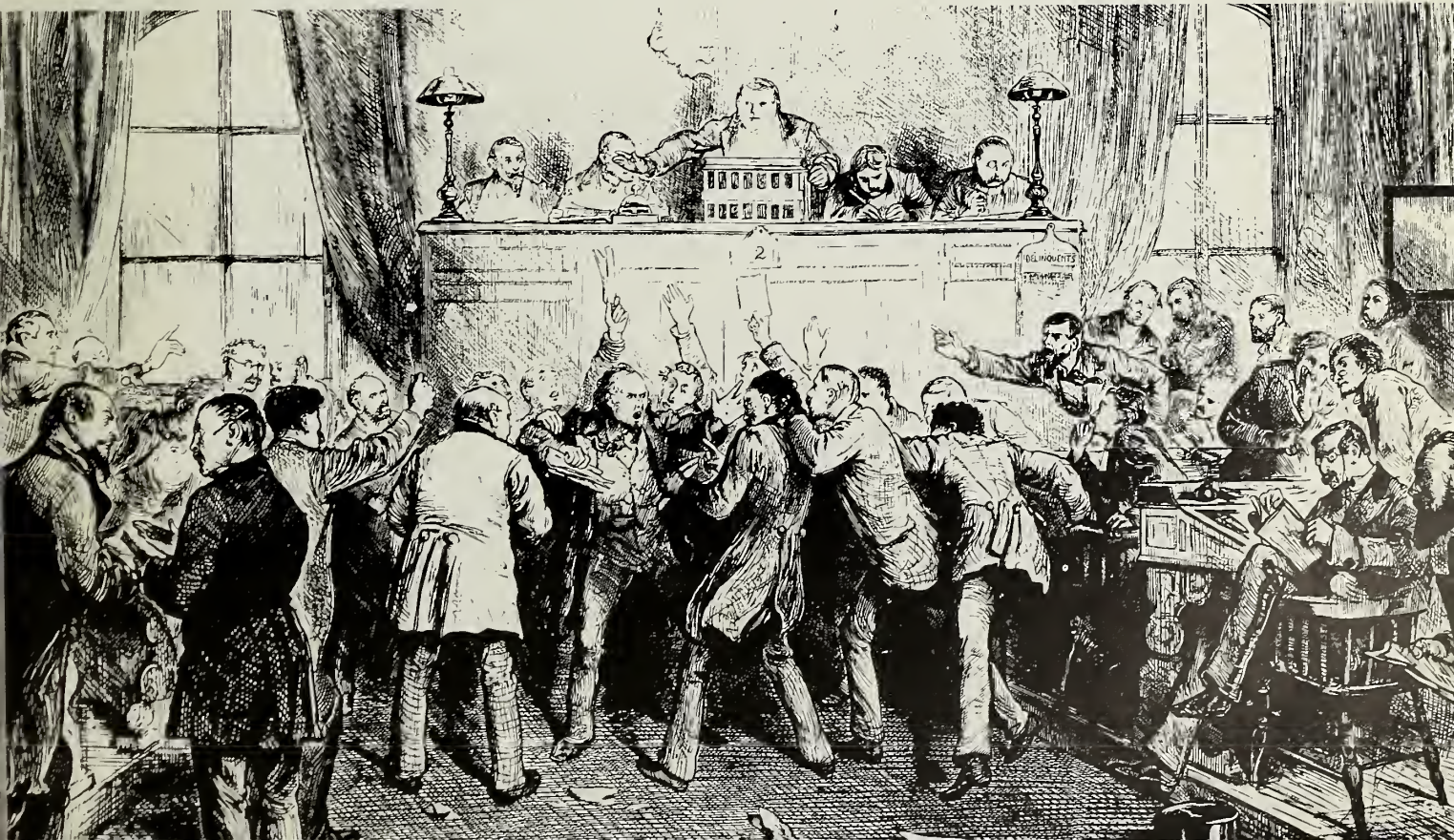
The 18th of April, 1875, was a Sunday, the day on which Roney often made entries in his journal. The dealings with Borren, mentioned here, and the primary topic of the next week's summary are not at all clear. It appears that Roney had been taken on at the Pacific Iron Works on a trial basis, his full journeyman's wages being in doubt until he proved himself; prior to landing the job he may have made partial payment on furniture from Borren, and as starting employment lagged a few days, he had been forced to sell it back at a discount. Now, his wages were deferred, while Borren had delivered furniture again (just before Roney penned the entry of the 18th). Whatever the previous history of the affair, Lowell obviously was unable to advance a large enough loan on the 18th to avoid the melodramatic incident that followed:

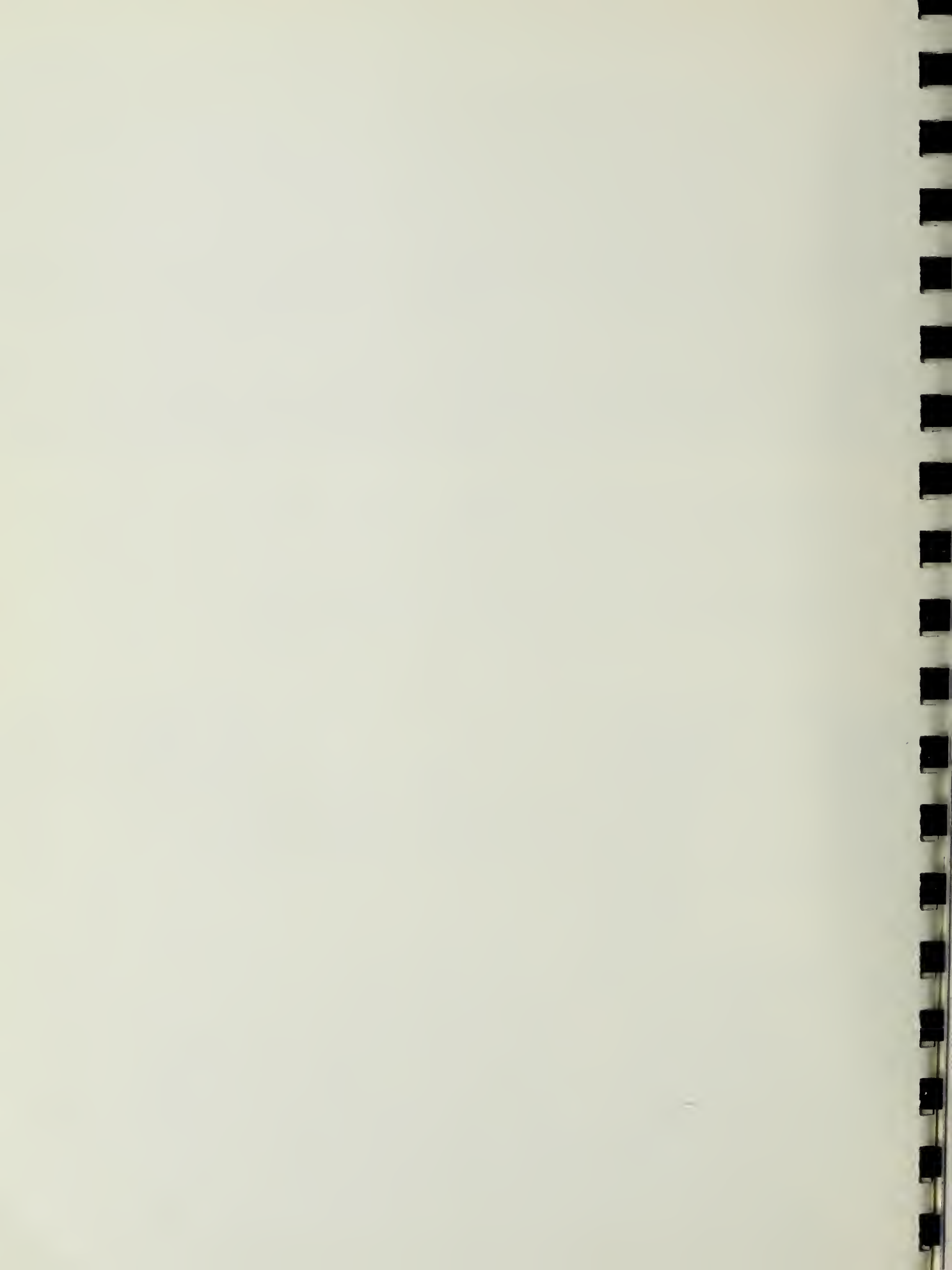
In order to get as even as possible with Borren, the furniture man, my wife ordered him to send a bed-room set and a mattress, the whole to cost \$30. He delivered the things on the 18th, but on the Thursday [April 22] following came with a teamster and took the most of them away again. My wife managed to retain a pitcher and bowl and 2 chairs. I also returned him one chair, the old stove, and table, amounting in all to \$11.50, which deducted from what I owe him [leaves] \$4.75 for carpet matting and one or two other things, and at his own valuation a mattress \$6, two chairs \$3, and bowl and pitcher \$1.50, would make a total of \$15.25 less \$11.50, balance \$3.75, but as he insulted my wife by wrestling with her for a chair and finding he could not get it he pushed her. For this and taking the furniture by force I seriously contemplated prosecuting him criminally. However as he introduced me to the man Sparrow, and as he was somewhat kind at first, and being an old



Plate 23: The Harpending Block Was Ready for the Railroad . . . Built in "An intense, booming, hopeful decade, a period of great events when everyone at last realized that gold was the smallest part of the State's resources," its eight brick buildings were "erected in the new earthquake preventative style," on Market, between First and Second.

Plate 24: A Normal Trading Day on the San Francisco Stock Exchange, 1873 . . . The London Illustrated News commented, "In transacting their business the members rush, at frequent intervals, into the middle of the room, and all shout at the top of their voices what sound like cabalistic sentences." (Top: "Pictorial Business Directory;" Lower: London Illustrated News)





man, I concluded to let the matter rest just as it is, calling it square, but should he come to the house to demand either those, this or money, I shall do something not very agreeable.

I may however manage still to keep my job till I get better acquainted. I am now indebted \$3.25 for wood and coal, \$15 for groceries and milk, \$1 for bread, \$5 on stove and \$1 borrowed, making a total of \$25.25. I have drawn \$10 on my past weeks payment which is now due to being kept back. This will render it impossible for me to settle up all I could wish, but still I shall struggle through as well as I can. I shall have another month's rent to pay and probably \$5 more for groceries, which make \$48.25, not to speak of meat and other eceteras. I shall then have only coming to me on the 15th May for 14 days and 6-1/2 hours.

Roney's financial situation on May 2, 1875, was such that he could not attend the iron molders' picnic for lack of funds. Saddled with small debts that were, however, large enough to threaten the minimal household economy of the Roneys, Frank had the added insecurity of his position at the Pacific Works, where he felt the imminent danger of being laid off. He worked harder, and tried to find redeeming qualities in the foreman:

Anticipating being again discharged in consequence of the other foundry belonging to the Pacific Co. closing down, and as the employees there have been in the employment of the Co. for many years, I concluded that of course newer men must make way for the older hands and accordingly set myself about to secure work in case such an undesirable event should occur. Through the introduction of Mr. Lowell to Mr. Kinsman Manager of the Friar Stone Manufacturing Co. I was promised a job at that business within a week in case I got discharged, but as I had put forth a better effort than before in the way of doing more work I have been retained so far at least and still hope to be although it is not very wise to be so impressed, for any day may let a man out of employment in this place.

My wife's anticipated sickness [parturition] is not yet arrived, which will leave me better prepared for the event when it does take place though even then I won't be as well off for her sake as I could wish, but as it is God be thanked for what we have.

Lately I have discovered a good deal of dissatisfaction amongst the men in the foundry with the foreman, the reasons assigned being that he is "putting on airs," is more exacting than it was at first thought he would be, and generally because they can't do as they would like. . . . For my part I have no sympathy with those men at all in their troubles, as I find Mr. Jones both a very good man and as far as I have had dealings with him pleasant also. If these men are dissatisfied it is wholly their business and as I think they are a little unreasonable it becomes no concern of mine. I would be better pleased to see greater harmony prevail but as I presume the men know what they want better than I do, they of course have the privilege of doing what suits themselves. I only hope no general shop trouble may be evolved from the state of things, both for the sake of all concerned and my own.

Visited Woodward Gardens with Lowell and little Charley. Had quite a nice day and found there many things of interest which it would take time to go through satisfactorily.

While Roney had his problems with employment and keeping solvent, the latest city scandals that he read about in his **Morning Call** must have placed the expense of a little excursion to the popular Woodward's Gardens in interesting perspective. For instance, the papers announced on April 28 the conviction of Harbor Commissioner Marks for embezzlement, and on May 1 the "publication of startling charges of bribery and corruption in the office of Assessor." Later that month Marks received a seven-year jail sentence for malfeasance in office. On June 14, the Board of Supervisors reported on a \$25,000 defalcation by ex-Police Court Clerk McCarthy. On the same day in June the **Call** noted the centennial of the battle of Bunker Hill, a blessed event occurred in the Roney family.

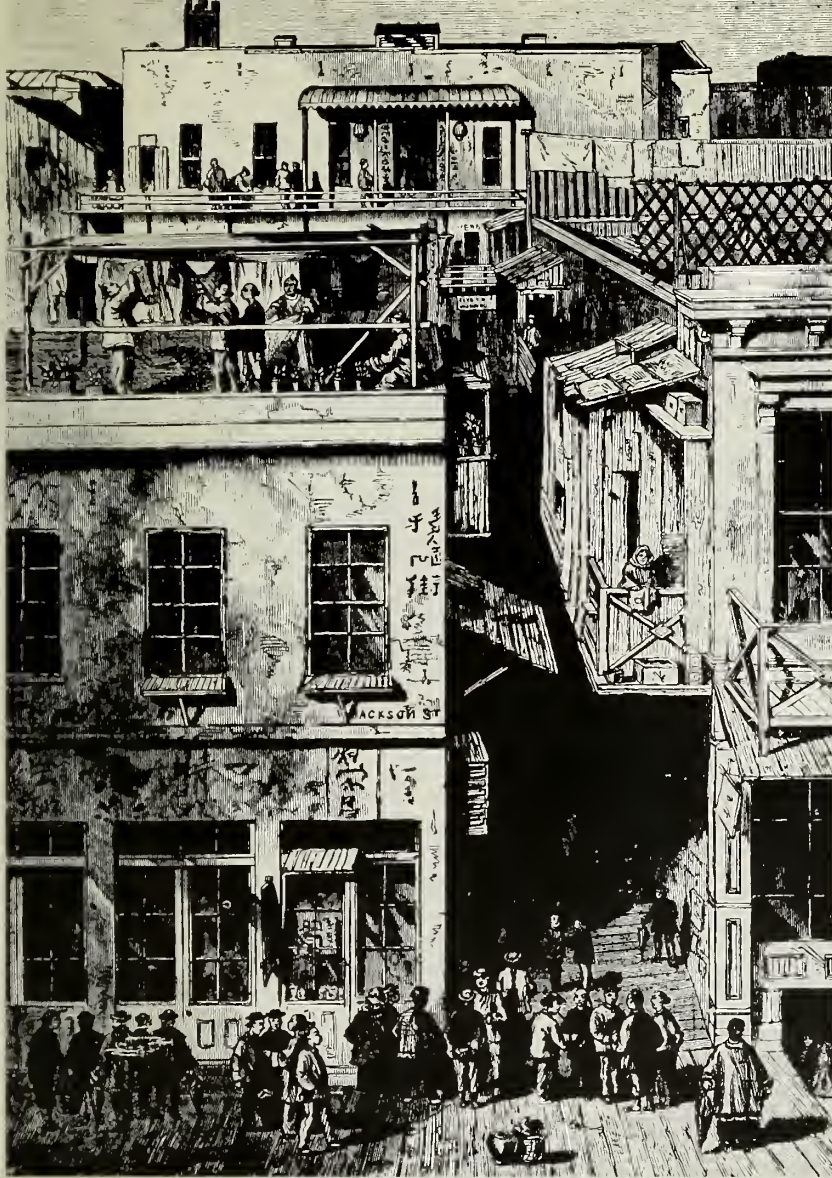
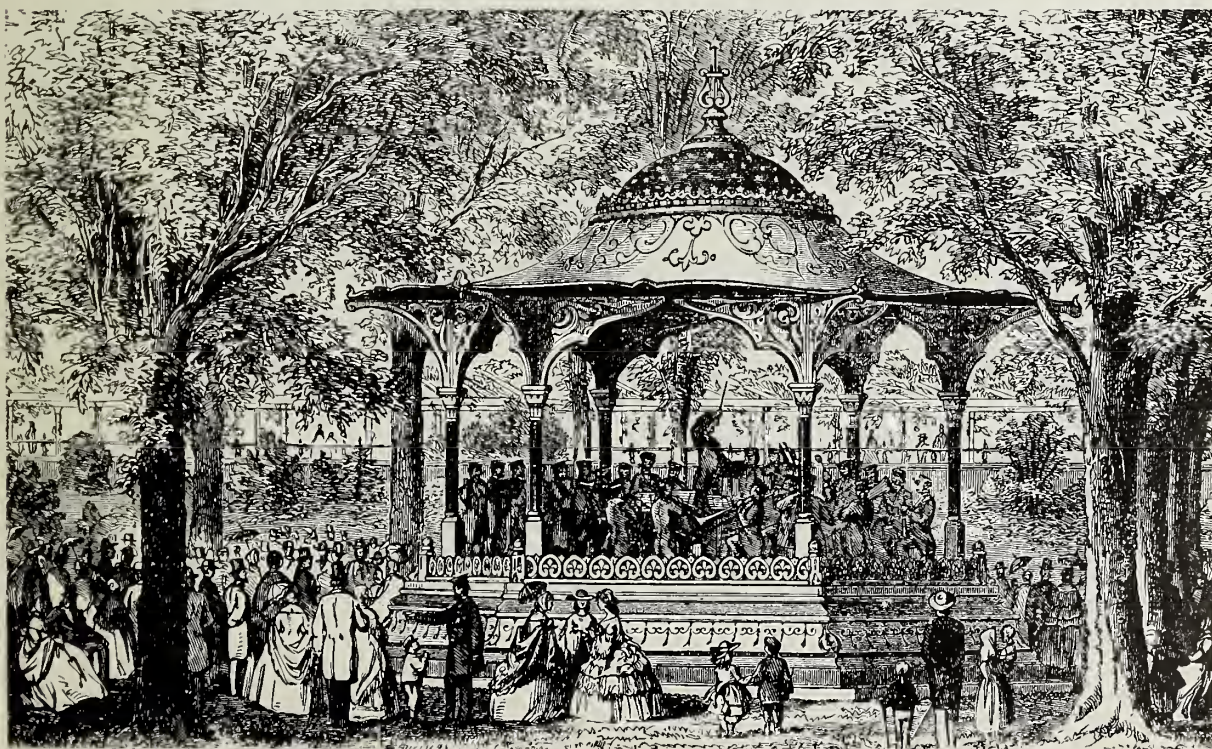
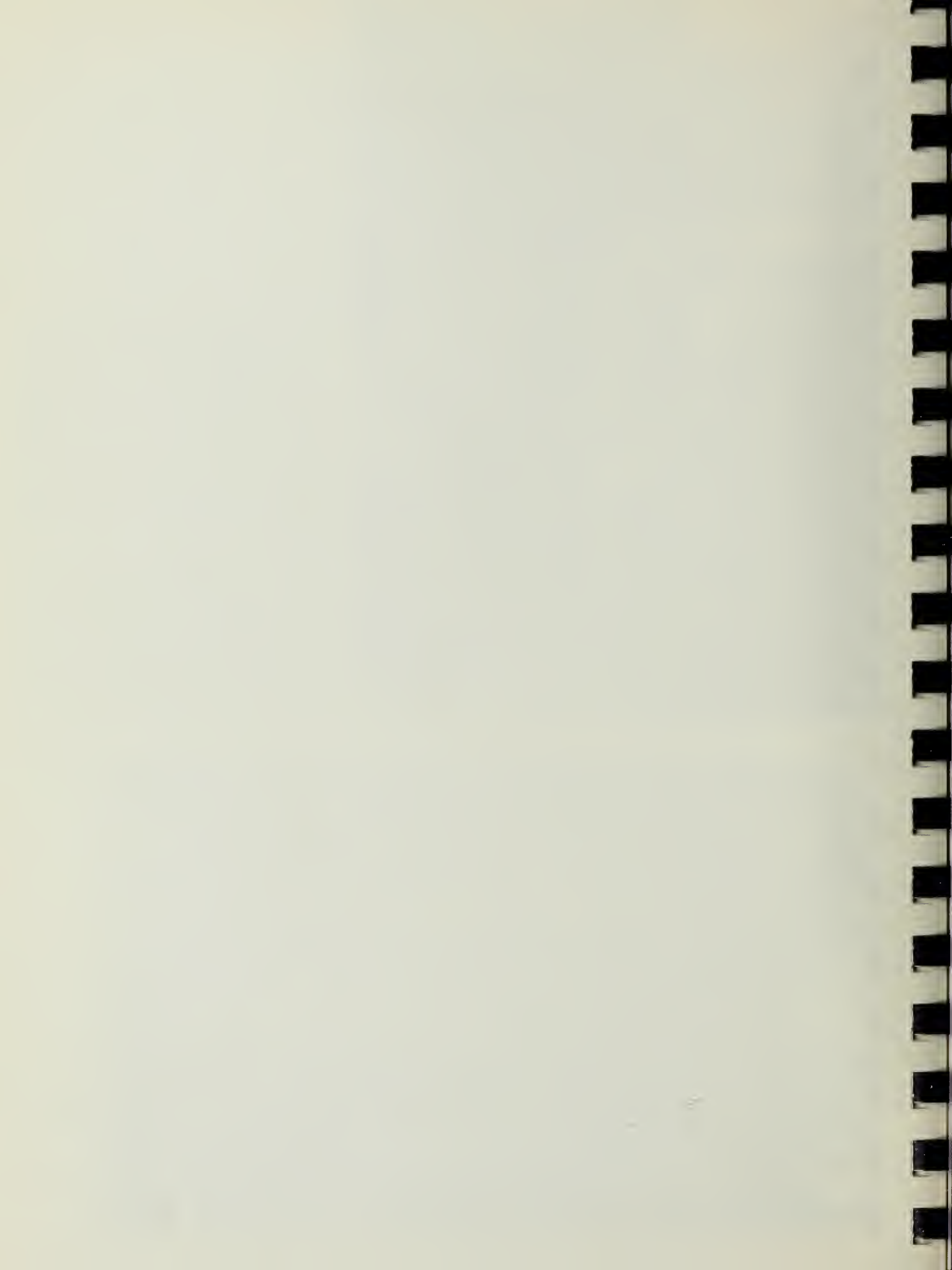


Plate 26: The Chinese Quarter, 1873. "The side-walks are monopolized by them, with their little tables of fruits and nuts, and cigars. The cobbler, tinner, chair-mender, and jack of all trades, claim, by squatter right, a seat upon a box, where to ply their trades; the alleys, lanes and by-ways give forth dense clouds of smoke, where cooking is performed, and the housetops are white with drying garments, fluttering from the network of clothes-lines. The Chinese quarter is a scene of gay life and heathen revelry that surpasses description." (Lloyd: 1876; View: Pacific Rural Press)

Plate 25 : Woodward Gardens' Outings were the favorite family adventures—a subterranean grotto filled with fish, lit from above; sea lions that yelped, bears that ate peanuts; a Sunday afternoon Offenbach Concert, played in the open-air under a star-spangled pavilion; Japanese acrobats, goat rides for the children, and an eight foot giant from China. (The Undeveloped West, 1873)





Business still continues to get dull and but very little prospects of its being much better.

On the 17th, my wife was confined abed. At 1/4 past 7 AM another boy was born. Every thing turned out all right. Mrs. McDevitt is evidently both skillful and considerate as a midwife. Joe Whaley from Omaha called upon me on the 19th on his way to Seattle. Gives very discouraging accounts of that place and hopes largely from his new home. Since then two molders, Lenny brothers, have gone to Seattle, but Wharburton gives very discouraging account from that place.

In July, Roney was house hunting. If he had looked through the classified section of the **Daily Morning Call** (the newspaper he habitually read), he would have found these kinds of listings: "To rent, a floor of 5 rooms with plain furniture at 26 Silver Street. Rent could lead to purchase of house. Price of furniture \$175" "Cottage furnished to let, 6 rooms all modern improvements, newly renovated Responsible couple no small children. . . ." "To rent, 4 hard finished rooms, Clementina between Third and Fourth. . . ." Rents ranged from as much as \$70 on the still fashionable Stanley Place, to \$10 for a shack in Bernal Heights with a chicken coop. He was making several changes in his life and coming to some thoughtful conclusions about a career spent in the foundries.

Moved to another house, No. 225 Perry St., owned by a man named Murphy. Rent \$17 per month. I got laid off at the Pacific and began work in the City Iron Works.

It seems as if this climate was not going to agree with me. The variety of weather one gets in San Francisco in a day is enough to satisfy the most fastidious for almost a season.

I want another change, and again think it is for the better. Of one thing I am satisfied, molding is not the business for me to follow. While out of it--I can always do without drinking and can too for a time after returning to it, but gradually the feeling

grows upon me and I again begin to taste and want to quit that practice if possible, and the only remedy I know of is to secure a position outside of the business altogether.

During this month my mind has been in an almost whirl of excitement. I feel the accumulations of responsibility without the means readily or within view to meet them and to help matters, since Charlie Butterfield came here and in consequence of the birth of the baby a deal of beer has been consumed and of course a proportional expenditure.

August was a month that made financial history in San Francisco of a kind that had repercussions for months to come. Along with the rest of San Francisco, Frank Roney must have followed the press with growing apprehension:

August 25, "A Great Decline in the value of Mining Stocks . . ." **August 26**, "Suspension of the Bank of California and of the National Gold Bank and Trust. . . ." **August 27**, "A GREAT CRISIS, Unprecedented Panic in San Francisco. The Bank of California suspended payment, and virtually closed its doors at half past 2 o'clock yesterday afternoon. The suspension was the culmination of a run on the bank of less than one hour's duration, yet, in its nature, unprecedented in the history of the institution. The announcement of the stoppage created widespread consternation. . . . The scene on the street: 'What's the matter on the street?' said everybody who had the smallest pretension to be a capitalist, who had money to lose, or credit to back, or merchandise to sell. . . . And the crowd, rapidly collecting in front of the bank, echoed the interrogation, and surged to and fro, and struggled to obtain favor with the policeman at the bank portals, and a preferential passage to the bank counter. . . . The window blinds were shut and the doors were closed as on Sunday; the bank interior was as much concealed to the outside observer as a crater on the moon. Through a small wicket of the greater door on California Street people were passing in and out, with anxious faces, some beaming under money-bags, others groaning because their checks had produced nothing. There was dismay on the faces of the crowds in the street. . . ." (*Morning Call*, August 25-27, 1875).

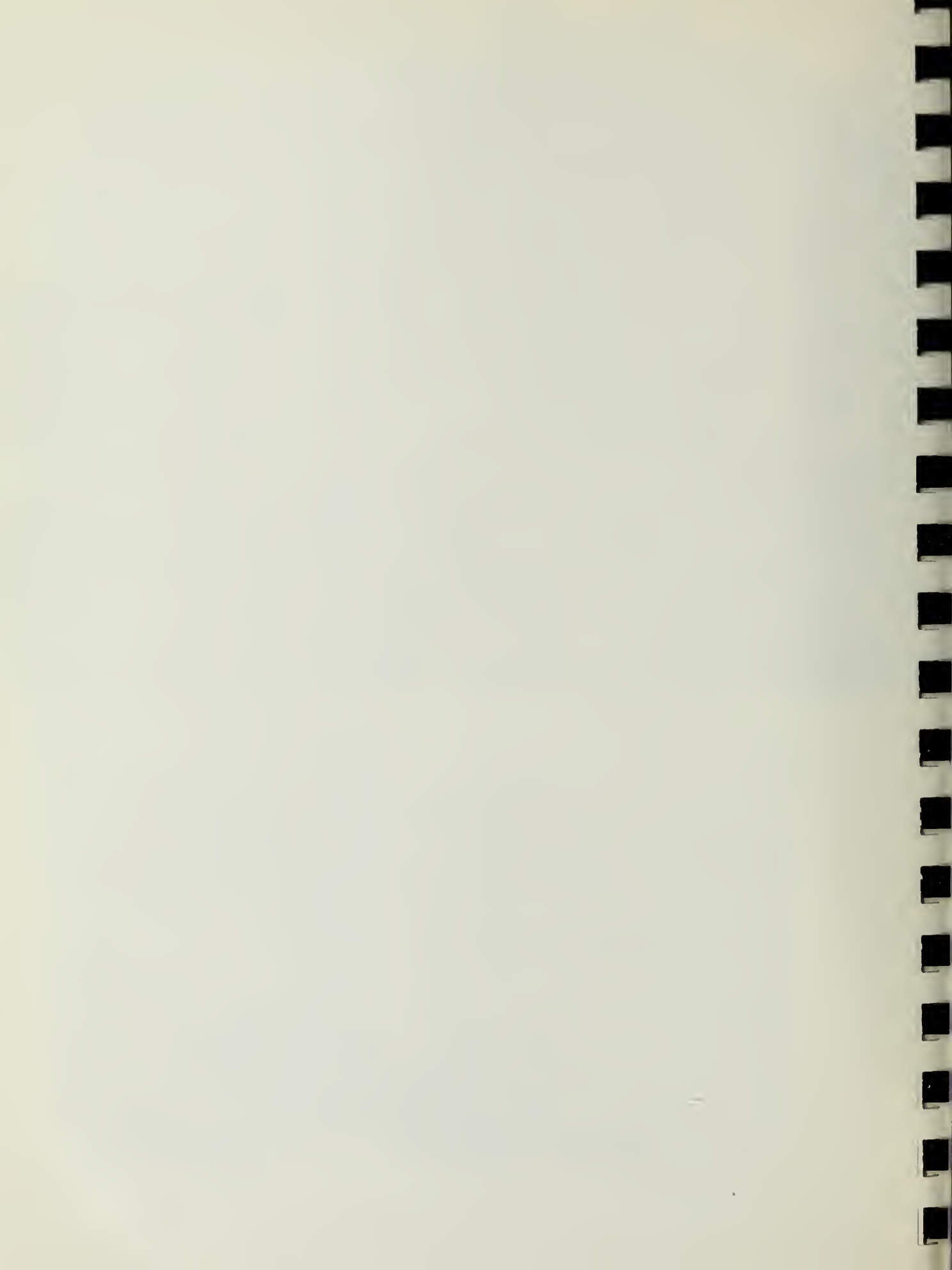
Against this background of financial turmoil Roney had problems of his own.



Plate 27: Fallure of the Bank of California, August 26, 1875 . . . "Has fallen on the public like a thunderclap. . . . The bank managers sought to make half a continent their own, to own its Senators and Congressmen, to control its Governors and Judges, and to make its vast mineral and agricultural resources contribute to their avaricious love of gold and their boundless ambition. Made mad, they have finally reached a madman's doom." (Frank Leslie's Illustrated News)

Plate 28: Scene of Ralston's Drowning at Selby's Wharf and Smelting Works . . . "Mr. Ralston, who looked wonderfully self possessed and free from agitation, answered questions: Q-Will you resume business tomorrow at the usual hour? A-No Sir, we will not resume business. Q-How soon do you expect to resume business? A-We do not expect to resume, Sir. Q-Not at all? A-No, sir." Following the interview Mr. Ralston took his customary swim but did not return. (Daily Morning Call, Aug. 28, 1875)





August, 1875 Moved to No. 3 Margaret Place, rent \$13 per month. Was laid off in City Foundry. I disliked the place all the time I was in it, most probably, and it seemed to me the foreman appreciated my dislike and made it disagreeable.

Answered an advertisement for a molder at Sandwich Islands and had I insisted upon securing the place would no doubt have got [it]. During this month I was idle from the 5th. Resumed work in Sept. During the month of August did nothing but made \$11.50 on the election. This with some credit and \$10 from Charley Butterfield carried me through.

This month of September still saw San Francisco trying to take stock of a fallen idol. William Ralston had gone swimming in the bay on August 27th and drowned. Most of the speculation related to the possibility of suicide. Clergymen preached in the pulpits against putting trust in worldly goods, and the stock market remained low and uneasy. Frank Roney, who was accustomed to two-digit debts, must have wondered when his morning paper credited the financial panic with "Drainage of coin from California to the East: In 1874, \$2,311, 400 in coin went East; in the same period in 1875, \$18,257,400 slipped from California to the East." By September 25, William Sharon had become the new president of the Bank of California by the formal organization of a "syndicate."

The front pages continued to carry elaborate descriptions of elaborate balls and parties given by everyone from "the select circle of friends of Captain McLaughlin of the **Baron Blantyre**, with a dinner party and dancing on board his ship," to "The Carpenters' and Joiners' Party at Sanders Hall, with dancing kept up unremittingly until morning." An adjoining column headed "Relief of the Destitute" described the tenth annual meeting of the San Francisco Benevolent Association, which not only gave money to aid San Francisco's poor and hungry, but tried to ascertain the causes of destitution. One item that must have caught the Roney family's attention: "As nearly as can be ascertained the causes of destitution are of the nature and in proportion to the following: Sickness 25%, Drunkenes 35%, Widows and orphans 25%, and Desertion

by husbands and fathers 15%." The article remarked on the increase in the number of vagrants on the streets during the past few years, whom the writer judged (perhaps expressing the views of the Benevolent Society) "are abundantly able but unwilling to work and prefer to beg" (*Call*, August 30, 1875).

The contrast of the articles is stark when compared with Roney's laconic comment on his employment at the end of September: "On the last of the month contrary to all expectations was again laid off."

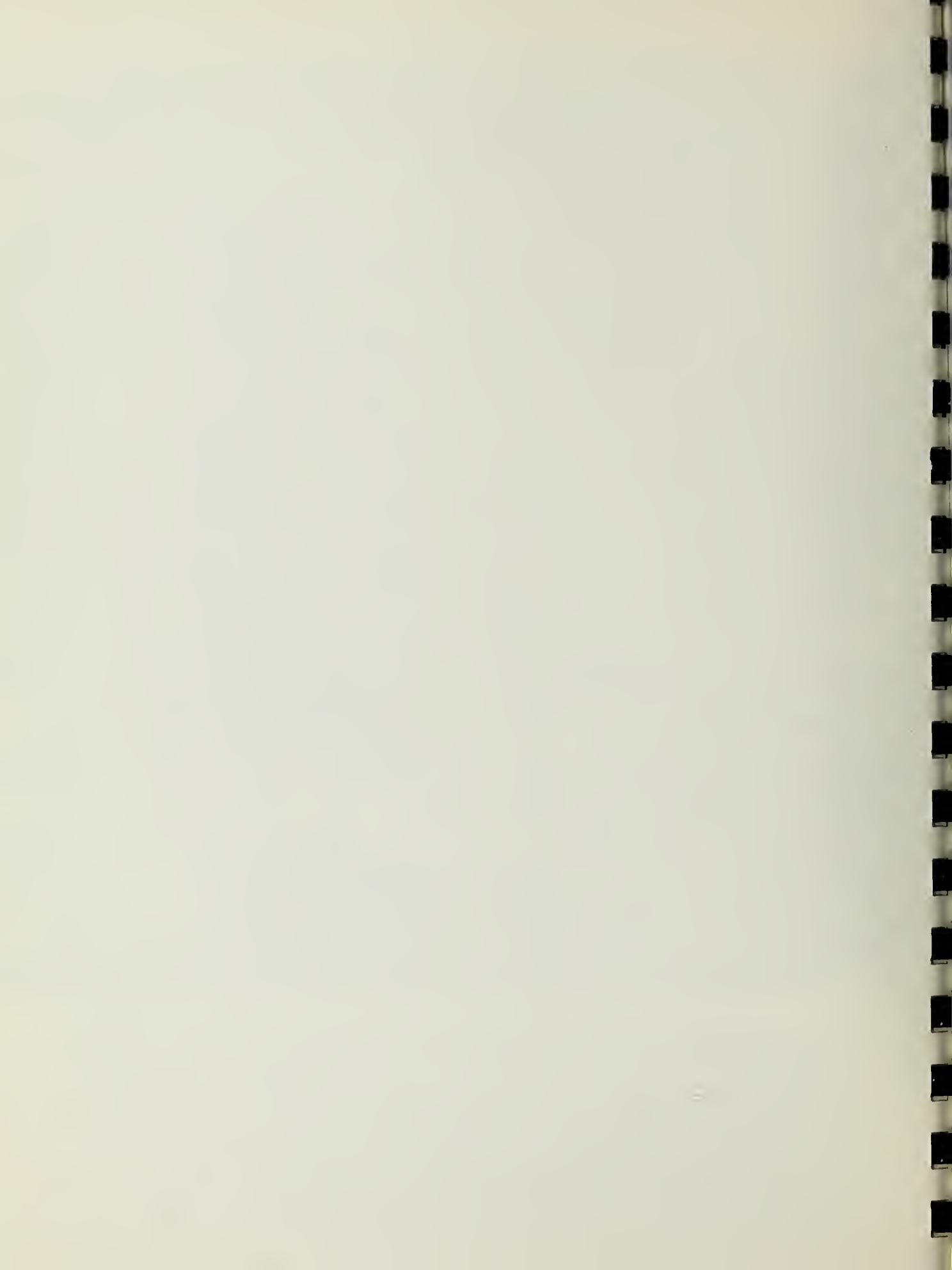
Spotty entries for a bad fall season were followed by a long accounting of the metamorphosis of general expectation into the specificity of accumulating debt:

The last month in the year! And so time rolls on recording each hour and day and month and year with a precision and relentlessness in sad contrast to the vacillations of poor mortals who either compulsorily or recklessly idle the moments so mercilessly recorded beyond the power of recall. With this month ends a year I had hoped from its auspicious beginning to terminate in a far different manner, but while we hope still for the silver lining to the dark cloud of adversity: and as we think, we hope, and work and toil for it, yet as time revolves on his unerring axis and brings not the mildest tinge of our fanciful lining, our hopes become tintured with despair and we feel as if there was no use further to struggle for the goal we have indicated as the end of our labor. . . . Perhaps by patient constant toiling hopeful steady perseverance never wholly subdued by any obstacle, there comes a day in some right year when we may gaze back on our balance and enter into the enjoyment of their results.

I began the year with very mild expectations; that of being out of debt by this time and of having my family--still increasing--better provided for, but instead of clearing off my past indebtedness I have added to it and while I still hope that another year will see me clearly out of debt, I confess I am somewhat doubtful.



Plate 29: The Busy Hours In Front of the Palace Hotel, 1875 . . . The Palace Hotel dominated the South of Market skyline and the social life of the city from its completion in 1875 until it was destroyed in 1906. It was a dream that Ralston did not live to see completed—but the details that made it San Francisco's finest were just what he had ordered: "Every room had a fireplace, a clothes closet, and a private toilet . . . Seven hundred bay windows brightened the outer rooms . . . The decoration matched the architecture in luxurious abandon: rare woods, European marbles, imported Irish linens, chinaware from Bavaria and porcelain from France, French rugs, woven to order. . . (Muscatine 1975, 219). The elevators ("rising rooms") were the first public hydraulic lifts in the west. The staff was almost entirely Black in the 1870's—the waiters, porters, and busboys, the chambermaids and laundresses lived out in back on Minna, Hunt, Jessie, and Sherwood in the Yerba Buena Center. (Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, October 9, 1875).



I began the year at \$2 a day and my last and only work done during this month was at the same pay and brought \$9.

My indebtedness this year is,

Groceries	\$13.50	
"	7.75	
Meat	7.75	
"	5.50	
Mrs. S----w	5.00	
Mrs. McDevitt	10.00	
Coal	3.50	
Molders	6.00	
Ects.	<u>- 4.00</u>	
	\$63.00	
1874	\$138.60	
Ects.	27.00	
I.O.O.F.	<u>34.00</u>	
	\$262.60	

And so after all my expectations, I began the year of grace 1876 in greater debt than the previous one, and too after undergoing great humiliations in my endeavors to keep level.

Whole indebtedness

in Omaha, Personal	\$60.00	
" " Family	<u>8.00</u>	
	68.00	\$ 68.00
in S.L. City, Personal	\$150	
Family		\$150.00
In San Francisco, Personal		
and Family	\$90.00	<u>\$ 90.00</u>
		\$308.00

As each portion of this debt is paid I shall be very, very thankful and will hope for its clearance.

Although the newspapers noted that on January 1, 1876, "The festivities of the commencement of the New Year are unusually brilliant . . ." Roney had but little hope for his own future:

January, 1876

1st. *Another New Year! another cycle of that time has passed away with its trials, its struggles, its hopes and its adversities and this day heralds another fraught with ills and blessings, joyfulness and calamities of every description and hue which in the twelve month ensuing will transpire to be placed on record this day a year hence among the events of the irrevocable past.*

To me this day presents but little of hope for the future and it is the third of the kind I have experienced in my married life. And still I hope and still will hope while life remains to me.

Today had some-what of a dinner with C. Butterfield and Mr. Dubois helped me eat it, for after all, poor as I am, I try to be as sociable as possible and especially on this occasion.

2nd. *In order to begin the New Year in a lucky if not a more Christian manner my wife insisted upon getting both Willie and the baby Christened today. Accordingly accompanied her to St. Mary's Cathedral for that purpose and accomplished it notwithstanding it was very cold for this climate, and rained exceedingly. On our return home we ate dinner and really felt happier than we have done for some-time, notwithstanding our poverty.*

Looking for work continued to obsess Roney, and he tried all of his friendship and lodge connections repeatedly, sometimes with a little luck and sometimes without. So low was Roney that he put small hope in a lead his friends gave him to the foreman of Union Iron Works, no longer run by the Donahues, but more than ever the most prominent foundry on the Pacific Coast. Perhaps the size of the operation and the reputation of the frugal management policies of the Scott Brothers made the outlook of working there a bleak one to an already disheartened man. Yet one would think that Roney's experiences between the 3rd and 19th of January would have made any steady foundry work look good.

3rd, 4th and 5th. Attended the Odd Fellows Employment Office each day with no result.

6th and 7th. Met McDegardin, Freight Agent S.P.R.R., who sent me to work at the Co.'s Wharf, where I helped to load cars with coal from noon till Friday night and earned \$5.

8th. Worked in the freight house today and got laid off. \$2.

12th. Each day called on the foreman of the Rincon Iron Works without receiving any encouragement. Today had \$42 given me by Tom Bullock. Tom Jones proposed to see Dimmick of the Union and did see him and promised me a job through him. Also saw Lowell and Mr. Beecraft, who also promised to speak to Dimmick for me. Received \$7 for work done at wharf and freight house.

13th and 14th. No success thus far. As usual, I have visited those shops where I might reasonably hope to get a job but the ill fortune which has persistently followed me for 25 months still clings to me as tenaciously as ever.

While I regret my circumstances I am aware others are a good deal worse off. I still keep house, of course in a poor fashion, but yet I manage to eat some and have enough of warmth and sleep, but my wife and children pent up from week to week without a sufficiency of warmth or of warm clothing, they feel the effects of this mode of living and it begins to tell upon them.

15th. Received today from Mr. Beecraft an introduction to Mr. Dimmick of the Union Foundry who was courteous enough and who had forgotten about me. He promised me a job and said he would send for me, I hope so and will wait to see.

Things look mighty blue at present. No money, rent due, nothing coming from the room to help pay the rent, coal nearly out, little food in the house, and worst of all no prospects ahead

either to pay what is due or to replace what is nearly out. Even if I got a job it would be a month before I could have any money. God only knows what I will or can do under such circumstances. Tried to see Earl V. Fonda to see if through him I could get a job on laying Schillinger Patent side walks, but failing to see him have left a card requesting him to call on me. And Charlie Butterfield's raffle for his ring was to come off to-night by which I expect to get \$7 for his months rent of room, but it has proved a miserable failure so far.

16th. Saw Fonda this morning and received encouraging news from him, in the matter of getting work. Johnson, late Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Cal. was buried to-day by the Odd-Fellows and had a numerously attended funeral.

17th. This morning started to secure work in the making of the Schillinger patent side-walks and drives (so called) and got it, but as a preliminary to working I was told to get a shovel and hoe. Bro. Fonda advanced the money for both myself and another odd-fellow and we paid \$3 for two of each, but I did not start to work.

18th. Began work this morning as helper in laying the cement walks at Bush between Jones and Leaverworth Sts. Wages to be at least \$2 per day.

19th. Began work this morning at 7, worked for an hour and as it threatened rain quit within an hour. . . . Went to the foundries and was told to start by Dimmick in the Union tomorrow. Got \$2 for my work this week and sold my tools for what I paid for them. I have a dread, perhaps an unfounded one, to work in the Union Iron Works, but I must do the very best I can under the circumstances. With hope in God I start tomorrow and shall judge by the first day my prospects for permanency.

20th. Began work this day in the Union Iron Works. I was afraid I was not going to begin work but after a little the foreman came to me and told me if I wanted to work for 3-1/2 a day I could start and further that he had orders to start no new men at any higher price, and so I started. Worked a full day of 9 hours and all night and next day (21st) till quitting time.

22nd. Worked today. This being the last day of the fortnightly pay I have made 39-3/4 hours or \$15.10. The foreman, though having a name for being very hard seems to be not such a very bad man. He swears considerably and is evidently very nasty but is withal just or I imagine so. I will suspend judgement till I know him better.

23rd. Sunday. A most disagreeable wet day. I could not have gone out if I had to in consequence of my boots being very bad: in fact both my wife and children as well as myself are at a very low ebb in clothing. During all of this day felt generally well pleased and of course was in good humor the result of being employed and having some prospect ahead of not only being out of debt but being in a position to save a little money. My wife also feels in a better condition than I have seen her for a long time from the same cause. I believe or at least sincerely hope she will pull with me--that by the end of the year we may have begun some provision for our children. These two years past have been a period of great trial to my wife and none of us have not felt its effects. So hope in God.

24th. Started today on heavy work, a change that suits me better than any other work in such a shop.

26th. Another fly-wheel as heavy as the previous of today and for the three remaining days of the week. . . . Every thing pleasant. All in good health. My wife did a large washing today, the first in a long time. Hope it won't make her ill as it has.

27th. Same job as yesterday. Time 10 hours. Rent is still due, out of flour and other necessaries and no means to pay one or buy the others. If the need of money for these things could only be delayed for another week I could then manage to pull through with what I have of money in the house \$6-1/2. As it is I am afraid I will have to try and borrow ten dollars to meet my liabilities.

29 Jan. . . . Lowell came to see me last night and was in one of his drinking spells. I drank a little with him and remained out to 11. I was sick on acct of last nights performance but didn't propose to do so again for some time.

31st. . . . The month of January terminates this day and has been productive of some benefit: I hope it is the precursor of better times than I have experienced in a long time.

I have earned during the month \$47.50. Expenses I cannot readily calculate on but I have earned enough to cover my indebtedness. Produced 8,600 lbs of castings.

Things were indeed looking up for the Roney family, and he remained at his job for the duration of the diary. Roney kept track of the amount of castings he made and later calculated the worth of his labor to the employer. As Roney became a member of the Workingmen's Party and, after that party fizzled out, a socialistic labor leader, these rudimentary economics may have had some effect in shaping his philosophy. Roney continued his diary on February 1, 1876.

I hope this the second month of this year will be at least as productive of good as the previous one. I want things to go along a little better than they have done hitherto. Today seems make work, somewhat slack in the shop with the probability of some parties being discharged. I trust it won't come my turn this time, not until I get straightened out.

C. Butterfield persists in showing the cloven foot. Today he raised \$15 and paid my wife \$7 for rent of room due and though he has got his breakfast every morning during the month and knew the rent was to be paid never offered either to pay for his food or in any way to assist my wife in this strait. I will from today keep an account with him exactly and if he don't pay I shall tell him of it.

2nd. . . . My wife today found two pins enameled and a guard chain which I presume are all gold. The value of which if gold is about \$40. This is good. Received \$7 room rent and spent 50¢ for a frying pan.

Back at work as an iron molder, with pay enough to live and to reduce his debts, it took little time for the "feeling" he earlier remarked upon to begin to return to him—though as he would have it, a debilitating hangover seemed the result of just the barest "taste."

3rd. Felt sick all day with head-ache, the result of taking a single glass of beer the night before. Went to bed early.

5th. Felt sick today after taking a new kind of bitters called "Dr. Gunns" but worked during the day and quit at 4.

6th. Sunday. Went to Bay View today with the wife and children. A fine day and enjoyed it very much. The prospect was lovely.

9th. Worked today in same job as previous days. . . . Work seems to be slacking off. . . . Several men laid off. . . . Took a chance in a raffle for tools which cost 50¢.

10th, 11th and 12th. Worked with five others on a walking beam for a compound pumping engine for Flood and O'Brien during these days and cast it on the last day. . . . Dimmick showed himself the man

he was represented to be, very foul mouthed and decidedly offensive in his language, he does not by any means show any preferences but launches full-tilt at all around exhibiting himself as an ignorant savage without respect for others or even for himself. How a man like this has lived so long in this place is beyond my comprehension. If he should be ever injured by anyone employed under him I would say the party so doing would be in part justified because the language the man uses is unbearable as well as disgusting.

14th. . . . My wife told me of Lowell's being in the house most part of the day half drunk. Now this should not have been so at all and if she understood herself as a woman and her duty as a mother and a wife she would not have had him in the house so long much less to have told him to go and sleep on my bed. I have felt very much offended by his conduct in my house and I am well aware he knew the impropriety of doing as he did even if he was drunk, as he has always boasted he is always conscious. There is no friendship will tolerate such liberties, and I think my wife is much to be blamed for tolerating any such thing on the part of anyone no matter whom.

15th. Felt bad all day in consequence of having some disagreeable words with my wife about the affair of yesterday: neither did I sleep well the night before for the same reason. Made the matter all right at night. These were the first cross words this year so far and I hope they will be the last. Such occasions are always to be deplored and no circumstances should ever if possible arise to cause even a momentary estrangement between a husband and wife, especially when raising a family.

16th. I have been suffering for 3 weeks past with a severe cold and have had a terrible cough, but today I have had an intense pain in my left lung which may if it continues render it necessary for me to take a rest to recuperate if it don't assume a more serious

character which with Gods help I hope not for the sake of my young family.

Roney's cold apparently abated with the weekend, and between his Sunday and the holiday on Tuesday, he participated in or remarked upon a couple of the since-forgotten diversions of San Franciscans of a hundred years ago. On Sunday, February 20, he visited the Laurel Hill and Odd-Fellows cemeteries. The family outing (usually with picnic) to the cemeteries was not a macabre San Francisco aberration, but a custom resulting from the lack of alternative free public parks and greensward. The few paltry squares that the previous city fathers had set aside as parks provided less in the way of bucolic amenities than the Lone Mountain cemeteries, and it was not until the time of Roney's writing that the Golden Gate Park reservation was beginning to fill an obvious civic need. Despite the formidable job of developing a grand public park from the wastelands allotted, at least the eastern part of Golden Gate Park was in shape to replace entirely the cemeteries as popular family resorts by the end of the decade.

In the same entry, Roney commented, "Point Lobos Road is a very fine drive." At the time, Roney and his family probably would have been as impressed by equestrians, equippages, and horseflesh as the road and the scenery. The enthusiasm of the populace for horseracing included not only track events, but trials of speed along the Point Lobos Road and some of the newly laid-out park drives. Apparently the Roneys did not attend the "great 4 mile and repeat race" of the 22nd, Washington's Birthday, though he noted the event in his diary. Frank spent that morning washing "all the soiled clothes in the house, my wife being unable to do so," but in the afternoon went out for two hours "with her and the children," where they may have witnessed some of the immense traffic to or from the race course reported by the **Alta**. That newspaper devoted two full columns of its bed-sheet format to "The Race," and nearly all of two adjoining to "The Centennial Ball" at Union Hall. Soon to be the scene of rallies of the Workingmen's Party, Union Hall was that evening host to San Franciscans who could spend \$16 to attend an event "which

should ever be known as the most recherche entertainment of the kind ever given in our city" (*Alta*, February 23, 1876).

The Roneys, therefore, were unable to appreciate the unqualified success of the Woman's Centennial Committee in overcoming the defects of "old" Union Hall, which was "not well adapted for ballroom ornamentation and requires handling with utmost artistic skill to conceal the harsh angles and lack of symmetry. Its churchlike balcony is a *bête noir* for decorators, and as our readers can doubtless recall to mind many previous festivities where the attempts at ornamentation only seemed to make the homely hall still homelier." As it was, the ladies had fixed the place so that one could see such sights as the "main stairway neatly carpeted to the first landing over which the word 'welcome' glittered in diamond-like jets. The arrangements in the ladies' and gentlemen's dressing rooms were entirely satisfactory, and after removing their wraps and scarfs the ladies were escorted by their attendant cavaliers to the main hall. Arched above was the word 'Centennial' in jets. On one end of the platform stood the emblems of the industrial arts, while on the other were the symbols of warfare."

If Roney read about the Union Hall bash on Wednesday, it was the Union Iron Works that was on his mind:

23rd. It seems to me that Dimmick is getting somehow down on me. I may be mistaken and hope I am but judging from his looks and the discrimination used in giving jobs by what he did previously leads to that conclusion. However, I want to stand it as long as I can and if C. Butterfield should get the job he is after at Bakersfield I shall go there and perhaps might make a decent stake in the operation.

24th. . . . I have the feeling a change is about to take place of some kind and I have the fear that I may be necessitated to leave my work through the over-bearing conduct of Dimmick. I sincerely hope no such thing will occur but if it must be so I will have to do my best under the circumstances. I feel as if tomorrow will

bring the affair about whatever it is. In God we trust and have our hope.

26th. . . . J. Phillips formerly of the Sheridan Hill Smelting Works called upon me today. Was dead broke. Took him home and gave him a bed and supper.

29th. . . . This records the second month of the Centennial Year of grace 1876, during which I have earned \$84.50 and produced 15 tons averaging clear profit to the proprietor \$450.

I have not much to regret during this month thank God.

Although things were looking up for the Roneys, Frank was still looking for better positions. The last month of his diary, March, 1876, continued to list the amount of castings he did at work.

March 6th. Time 10 hours, job plunger, 1000 lbs.
7th. Time 10 hours, job plunger. 1000 lbs.
8th. Time 10 hours, job plunger, 1500 lbs.
9th. Time 10 hours, job pipe +700 lbs.
10th. Time 10 hours, job pipe, 700 lbs.
11th. Time 10 hours, job pipe, 700 lbs.
15th. Time I will reckon as 13-1/2 hours though I am not quite certain that it will be so much, at least it amounts to 11 hours, job pipe and driver, weight 1000 lbs.
14th. Same as yesterday Whole weeks time I
15th. " " " reckon at 72 hours or \$46.20.
16th. " " "
17th. " " " which was bad.
18th. " " " got paid today \$28.50
20th. Time 10 hours, job pipe weight 700 lbs.
21st. Time 12-1/2 hours " " and drug 900 lbs.
22nd. " 10 " " " " " 450 lbs.
23rd. " " " " " " " 400 lbs.

24th. " " " " " " two steps, 700 lbs.
 25th. " " plate open sand 1,700 lbs.
 27th. Time 10 hours, job a drum weight, 700 lbs.
 28th. " " " " cross-head, weight 2,000 lbs.
 29th. " " " " " " " " " "

As Roney added up the tons of iron and hundreds of dollars' profit he was making for the bosses during March, he did insert two brief family notes. Sunday the 26th was "A very fine day," and he took a walk with the wife and children. On Saturday, March 18, he had "visited Maguires Opera House with the wife." This was the only note in the year's journal of such an evening entertainment; so we looked up what he had seen. That night the company of Mrs. James A. Oates was playing "Offenbach's ludicrously funny comic opera in three acts, **The Princess of Trebizonde**, with Mrs. Oates as Prince Raphael" (*Alta*, March 18, 1876). In the *Alta* of March 19, we noticed a story the like of which Roney must have seen with depressing frequency in the *Morning Call*, to which he subscribed. Nearly a full-column account, titled "Palace for Horses," described in glowing detail Mr. Shawhan's newly completed stables, a model of "richness, elegance, convenience and good taste." This equine resort had a "trough from which the horses drink that has been carved out of a solid block of white marble, at an expense of \$1000, and represented a wide mouthed lion leaning over an open vase."

Later, during the Workingmen's agitation, Roney lost his job as the result of a newspaper story. According to Roney, a man by the name of Rooney got his name in the papers from an incident involving labor agitation, and the proprietor of the Union Iron Works fired Roney, thinking he was the man. Although Roney was deeply involved with the Workingmen's Party he firmly believed that labor, if paid commensurately, could help increase production in conjunction with management. However, it is not likely that even the most thoughtfully moderate of Roney's real views would have been any more agreeable than those of the wildest incendiary to the Union Iron Works managers.

The Workingmen's Party

A sympathy meeting in July, 1877, of western railroad workers, called to express support for the Pittsburgh railway strikers, ignited the fuse that sent the Workingmen's Party of California on its meteoric rise. The meeting ended in a minor mob scene, but partly because of the overreaction of timid officials, excitable businessmen, and the sensation-hungry press, the agitation only mounted. Out of the many factions shouting for the workingmen's support, one man seemed to outshout the rest. Denis Kearney, a naturalized Irish drayman, caught the fancy of the working class and unemployed of the South of Market area. From **Shea's Book Store** at 805 Market, Kearney "used to hie forth for the sand lots, where he would tell the people assembled there of the evils of the constant influx of the Chinese" (Roxburgh, 1927:11). By January, 1878, the workingmen's movement was full-blown.

Kearney's appeal to the workingmen lay in his fiery oratory rather than in a coherent program to improve the lot of labor or to achieve a better measure of social justice. His impassioned commentary to a meeting of cooks and waiters was,

I am glad to see you making preparations for the fish-balls-- that is, you make the balls and we will fire them. If the members of the legislature overstep the limits of decency, then I say, hemp! hemp! hemp! That is the battle cry of freedom (Bancroft 1890: 360).

From a platform in the sand lots he suggested,

Now we are ready to come right down to the scratch to expell every one of the moon-eyed lepers. We are ready to do it. If the ballot fails, the bullet. That 'if' must come in. If the ballot fails, we are ready to use the bullet (Neville Scraps, January 14, 1878).

His message, though vigorously delivered, was extremely short on specifics. However, he held his audience of workingmen and the unemployed in rapt attention. His baiting of the powers that seemed to cause the hard times--the Chinese and the capitalists--gave vent to the

frustrations of the poor in achieving a livable existence in golden California. In spite of his talk about hemp and arming the masses, there was said to be an almost carnival spirit involved with the Workingmen's Party meetings.

Kearney provided a show for his followers that required an emotional commitment rather than a set of beliefs necessary to awaken a class solidarity. He was not a socialist or a communist, but a person who seized the moment and carried these men with him into a world of easy solutions. "The Chinese must go" fell on their ears, and they heard it as a call to action. Had they not felt the daily encroachment of these people into areas previously held by their wives and sisters and frequently themselves? Kearney had found an issue so concise and exploitable that it became the memorable leitmotif of the movement.

While Kearney did not have a radical political philosophy, he had some organizational ability and a taste for power that did not allow for the association of equals. Workingmen's clubs provided a coherent voter base for the party. Getting out the faithful was a carnival in itself, with the different clubs lighting bonfires to announce the latest meeting. With a half-cord of wood and some coal oil at the corners of designated streets, such as in front of Hibernia Hall (Third Street between Howard and Folsom), Barra's Hall at First and Minna, and the Irish-American Hall on Howard between Fourth and Fifth, the curious South of Market spectators could be attracted into the clubs to hear the featured orator. In this era when the art of oratory was well respected, Kearney stood out, more perhaps for his showmanship and pyrotechnics than his able command of forsenics (Roxburgh 1926: 11). When the city was gripped by fog, the bonfires provided an eerie setting that helped to set off events like Kearney's reading of the burning of Moscow as precedent for what could happen to the Chinese quarter. However, all his more inflammatory remarks were preceded by "if," and the crowds never acted out his lurid images of hangings and burnings.

The Chinese chose not to answer their detractors directly, but preferred to let whites state their case. Hence, such people as the Reverend Otis Gibson and Colonel Frederick A. Bee wrote articles and



"Say, Pat, did you see Dinnis?"
 "Dinnis? Who's Dinnis?"
 "Why, Dinnis Kearney."
 "And who is Dinnis Kearney?"
 "Why, Dinnis Kearney; don't you know
 Dinnis Kearney?"
 "No; what does he do?"
 "Bedad, he don't do nothing; he's a work-
 in' man."

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RECORDED AT SACRAMENTO CAL. BY THE PUBLISHERS OF THE WASP

Plate 30: The Wasp Attacks Kearney as a demagogue, but their cartoons on the Chinese were equivocal. As a cheap source of labor, they viewed the Chinese threat as real, but saw no solution for the Workingmen to follow Kearney as a "power mad ass."



testified before committees to correct some of the more absurd charges stemming from ignorance or prejudice. Sometimes these defenders committed gaffs that allowed the detractors to inflame greater opposition to the Chinese. One of these unfortunate incidents occurred in October, 1878, when Col. Bee was asked during an interview with the **Washington Post** about the views of the better class of Californians toward the Chinese. Bee answered that these people "regarded the Chinese 'as good citizens' " and that they wished "to encourage the immigration of the Chinese." Bee elaborated on this comment by speculating that if a vote were taken on whether the Chinese or the Irish population should go, "the verdict of voters who held more than \$200 worth of realty, would be in favor of the Chinese" (**S. F. Post**, October 26, 1878).

Although this comment was made in Washington, it did not take long for the telegraph to send it back to San Francisco. The sand-lot fires blazed soon after, and the populace of the South of Market area was treated to a thorough denunciation of the opinions of Col. Bee. Normally the detractors or defenders of ethnic groups extolled the positive or negative qualities of stereotypes like John Chinaman or Paddy. But here was something totally different--a public statement implying that people of substance preferred the Chinese to the Irish. To agitators of the Kearney stripe, this type of statement was a godsend. Here was visible proof of the attitude of the wealthy as purveyed by a spokesman for the Chinese.

Kearney's effective career flashed by in two years. Perhaps it was inevitable that men using the same tactics as Kearney should rise in spite of the draymen's intolerance of rivals. One person in particular, **Reverend Isaac S. Kalloch**, drew a following from the South of Market workingmen when he preached on the evils of the Chinese. It should be noted, however, that the good reverend, previous to his entry in politics, had primarily attracted crowds of the middle-class stripe and had conducted a large Chinese Sunday School class (George 1880: 447). The location of Kalloch's church, at Fifth and Jessie, made it highly accessible to a workingmen's constituency, and it would thus seem that ambition and opportunity substantially influenced the pastor's social philosophy.

His popularity grew to such a point that he was nominated as the Workingmen's candidate for the 1879 mayoral election in San Francisco. Opposition to Kalloch's candidacy came from Kearney and from **Charles de Young**, the editor of the **Chronicle**, who had supported the WPC in the past. While Kearney kept his opposition close to his vest, de Young, who wanted to run his own candidate, began to publish articles on Kalloch's checkered past on the East Coast. Kalloch replied in kind to de Young's attacks, making remarks from the pulpit on the editor's parentage and his mother's character. Seeing the opportunity for more effective action than character assassination, de Young waited on Kalloch outside his church and shot him from behind the cover of a curtained carriage window. Luckily for de Young, a police detective was nearby to pull him from the angry crowd that immediately gathered. De Young was taken to jail and the wounded Kalloch was taken to his study. Roxburgh remembered the time on that fateful August 23 of 1879:

This act aroused the people of the city. As soon as the Workingmen's Rifles heard of the shooting, they assembled at their various armories, the Ninth Ward Rifles in Hibernia Hall on the west side of Third Street between Howard and Folsom, and the Tent Ward Rifles in their armory at Fourth and Tehama in the basement under Green's saloon. The Tenth Ward Rifles established themselves as a guard and patrolled Fifth Street in front of the Temple and on Jessie street half way to Fourth. The doctor was so seriously wounded that he was taken into his study at 368 Jessie, where he remained until it was safe to move him to his home; he hovered between life and death for many days. The police feared that should he die, the people might be aroused to a mob and damage might be done and many lives lost if this should occur. So everything was done to hasten his recovery. The Fifth and Mission street cars were not allowed to run up Fifth to Market, nor was any teaming allowed on Fifth between Market and Mission; this block was also well covered with tan bark as well as Jessie street for half the block between Fourth and Fifth; in fact it was extra heavy directly in front of Dr. Kalloch's study. The whistle on the Mint ceased blowing and the bell on St. Ignatius Church was not rung; in fact everything was done to make the immediate neighborhood as quiet as possible to hasten the Doctor's recovery (Roxburgh 1927: 11).

Kearney and Kalloch's son attempted to calm the aroused workingmen, but while the minister's son was successful in quieting the mob after

SUNDAY,
March 31st,
THE OPEN LETTER
PICNIC

—WILL TAKE PLACE AT—

Shell Mound Park
BERKELEY,
 Under the Auspices of the
WORKINGMEN'S PARTY OF
CALIFORNIA.

WILLIS' BAND

OF 16 PIECES.

THE TENTH WARD INDEPENDENTS
WILL ACT AS GUARDS OF HONOR.

PROGRAMME.

The Band will assemble at the Sand Lot at 9:30 o'clock, A. M.

The Board of Directors, Printers, Carriers, Reporters and Editors will head the Procession.

The Band.

Tenth Ward Independents, as Guards of Honor,
 Capt. Wiggins, Commanding.

Stockholders, Subscribers, Friends and all members of the Workingmen's Party, and all who desire to spend a day in the country, at one of the most delightful Parks in the State.

The following Exercises will take place at the Park, and Mayor Andrus, of Oakland, will preside:

D. Kearney, W. W. Lock, H. L. Knight, M. Steinle, Mr. Gaus, H. M. Moore, F. Rooney and others, will speak to the question, "The Chinese Must Go."

Fine interludes by the Band.

Little JENNIE WELLOCK.....In Recitation.
 Labor Shall be King."

Miscellaneous.

Music will commence at 2 o'clock P. M. and continue until 5:30 o'clock P. M.

Admission to the Park.....25 cents.
 Children.....Half Price.

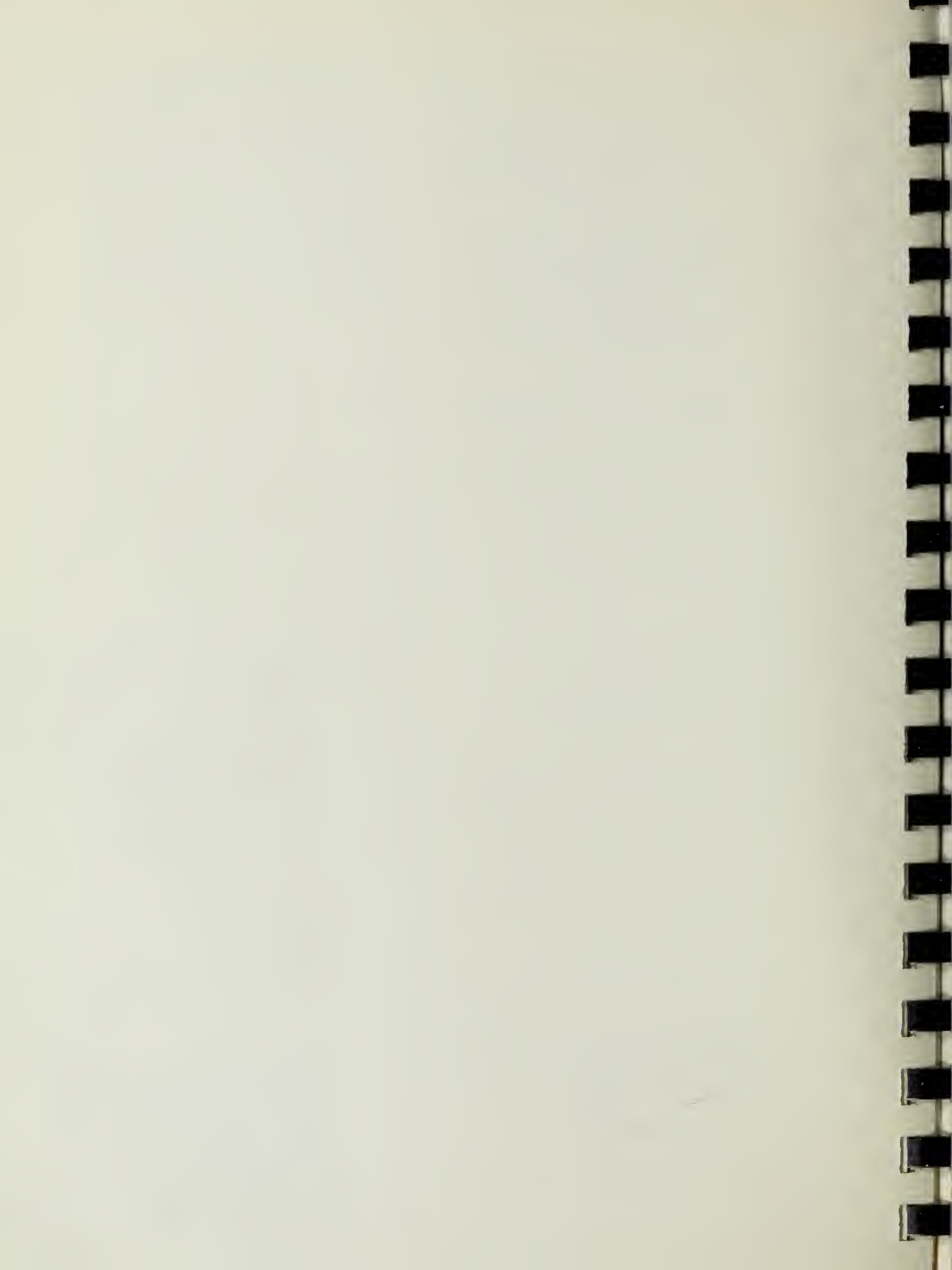
If it rains it will be considered postponed, but if the sun shines there will be a legion go.

Special trains run to the grounds direct, at 10:30 A. M. and 12 M.

FARE FOR ROUND TRIP..... 25 cts.

Plate 31: Shell Mound Park Picnic in Berkeley was the favorite spot for rallies of all political persuasions. Among the speakers were Dennis Kearney (portrayed by the **Wasp** cartoonist Keller as a loud braying ass who split the party in two in his ignorance); the Mayor of Oakland, and one "F. Rooney" who were to speak to the question, "The Chinese Must Go." Roney claimed that he lost his job through a case of mistaken identity with an F. Rooney—could this be the man? Frank Roney was active in the organization of the Workingmen's Party but broke with Kearney at a later date. (Broadside and cartoon from the Bancroft Library)





the shooting of his father, he was not as successful in controlling his own impulses. De Young never went to trial for his assassination attempt, because, when let out on bail after Kalloch recovered, the journalist fled to Mexico, only to return later with defamatory information on Kalloch's earlier careers. De Young published this information in a pamphlet, which incensed the younger Kalloch to the point that he obtained a pistol, followed the newspaperman into the **Chronicle** office and shot him dead. Put on trial, Kalloch's son was acquitted in March of 1880.

The weekly **Argonaut** summed up the de Young murder and the Kalloch trial with the following note:

The acquittal of Kalloch for the murder of de Young after fifty-six days of trial, is not a surprise. . . . We have never known a human life sacrificed which carried with it so little apparent regret as that of Charles de Young. We have never known of a murderer acquitted for whom there was so little sympathy as there has been for Kalloch.

The **Argonaut** was not noted for its sympathy to the Workingmen's Party nor for its goodwill towards Kalloch.

Obviously a popular minister before the shooting, the chest wound insured Kalloch's election to the office of mayor. His running mates did not fare as well as he did. Not one of the Workingmen's candidates made it to the Board of Supervisors, leaving overall control in the hands of a bipartisan establishment thrown together for the express purpose of defeating the WPC. This group retained control of the police, while the Workingmen's Party received some of the patronage plums. However, by 1880 the Workingmen's Party was on a downhill slide in its popularity.

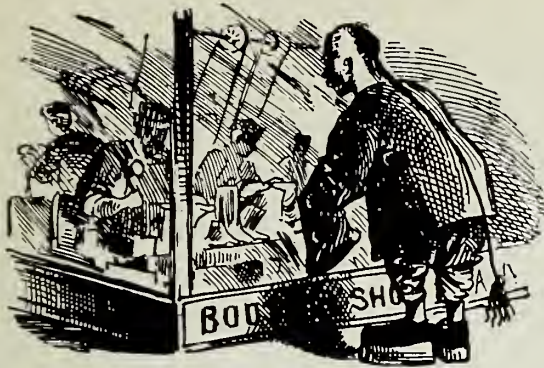
There was so much opposition to the Workingmen's Party that it is surprising that it wielded as much influence as it did. Some of the opposition was expected, such as the Republican and Democratic parties and members of the frightened establishment, like Charles Crocker. The Catholic Church also opposed Kearney to the extent that the agitator answered Archbishop Alemany's remarks against seditious language by reminding the prelate of the constitutional separation between church and state (Bancroft 1890: vii, 362). The city officials went so far as to request that troops be alerted to resist violence arising from Kearney's vague threats.

Despite the opposition of the church and political parties, the Workingmen's Party had a consistent theme that captured the imagination of the people. "The Chinese must go!" But while Kearney agitated on the rhetorical level, other organizations worked in more pragmatic ways to curb the competition of the Chinese. One of the organizations, ostensibly a benevolent society, had been formed expressly to "neutralize by all proper means the employment of Mongolian labor." The 1879 San Francisco City Directory described this "Order of Caucasians" as one of the fastest-growing societies since being organized in Sacramento in 1876. The order had enrolled about three thousand members in San Francisco alone by 1879. The importance of these groups became apparent when the drive to persuade employers to fire Chinese and hire whites began late in the 1870's. Irish societies were probably effective in this regard, for after all they did give us Captain Boycott and the movement connoted by that word.

The social contributions of the ephemeral Workingmen's Party were neither large nor lasting. The Constitution written in 1878 did not reflect to any particular degree the aims of the workingman or labor. Although the party did elect several municipal and state officials, their influence was negligible, and in many cases they were absorbed by the established parties. Kearney quickly faded from the scene after 1880, and with him went the party. The lasting momento of this agitation was the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prevented further immigration of Chinese workers.

While it is true the Workingmen's Party tapped a vein of racism, the party also hit upon an economic problem that concerned the lives of the South of Market workers. The goal of Chinese exclusion was seen by the poor and unemployed as desirable to end the killing economic competition to their labor. The Workingmen's Party fulfilled this need, while the other parties were perceived as ignoring it. However, to those people who believed in building a true Workingmen's Party, based on unionization or a philosophy such as socialism or communism, the "Chinese Question" was diversionary, because it so engaged the attention of the

THE HISTORY OF AN INTERLOPER.



Ah Sin's Curiosity.

Far away from his country and kin
From Canton came the guileless Ah Sin.
As he watched men make shoes,
He exclaimed "What's the use.
They won't hire me," but still he stepped in.



Crispin Instructs Him.

But the foreman just wanted a hand,
Few white men were then in the land;
And the placid Ah Sin
Went to work with a grin,
And a smile that was childlike and bland.



His "Bludda" is Introduced.

Soon another Chinese comes along—
The humble and patient Ah Hong—
With the awl and the last,
He learns just as fast,
And his labor he gives for a song.



A White Minority.

And so they came in by the score,
While the white men went out at the door,
While the Melicans napped,
Their cheap pupils were apt;
And the foreman is left now—no more.



The Last of the Crispins.

For a while the white workman held on
To the bench, where he first had taught John,
Till at last he is 'fired'
By Ah Sin—whom he hired—
And the last of the Crispins is gone.



Master of the Situation.

Ah Sin has grown wealthy and great,
And he ships boots all over the State,
From the white man he learned,
A pile he has earned.
And his teachers must now emigrate.

Plate 32: The Wasp Tells the History of an Interloper . . . The fear that the influx of Chinese to San Francisco in the 1870's and '80's would not only replace the workingmen because they "gave their labor for a song," but would totally "take over" industries, such as the shoe and boot-making, cigar making, and the sewing and tailoring trades, was seen as the real economic threat to unskilled labor. The sheer numbers working-class Chinese during depressed times gave an edge to these fears. (The San Francisco Illustrated Wasp, Bancroft Library)



laboring voter that awakening class consciousness proved to be impossible. Put differently, however, this question of class consciousness and political philosophy becomes moot. The people of the South of Market area were more interested in getting what may be crudely termed as a "piece of the action" rather than in restructuring the society. The Chinese question loomed large to these people because they desired employment at a livable wage, rather than Charles Crocker's dollar-a-day program of 1878 that brought out more men than jobs. Even bystanders had turned out to see a man work for that sum, it being so novel (Neville Scraps, 1889).

Agitators like Kearney answered this need with "The Chinese must go!" much to the disgust of more cerebral reformers like Henry George and Frank Roney. George had this to say about the opportunism of Workingmen's Party office-seekers:

They are merely ordinary office-seekers who took advantage of the Workingmen's organization as giving a certain vote, and who, though generally they would have endorsed communism had it been popular, would have done so no quicker than they would have endorsed imperialism or Mormonism or spiritualism or vegetarianism (George 1880: 447).

But if the issue the Workingmen's Party addressed itself to most vigorously was wide of the mark when it came to advancing the basic interests of the working class, it still remains that workingmen made themselves heard and heeded. Legislation restricting immigration of Chinese more or less achieved the basic aim of Kearney's slogan, for while the Chinese in California were not evicted, the Exclusion Act of 1882 resulted in the Chinese becoming a gradually diminishing percentage of the population of the growing state.

The Chinese in the Yerba Buena Center

Among the varied ethnic groups in the Yerba Buena Center, the Chinese never appeared in great numbers as residents. The surprising rapidity with which the Chinese entered, and effectively took over, various industries such as cigar making, fishing, boot and shoe making, and vegetable

gardening was not particularly visible to the South of Market residents-- unless their particular jobs were affected. Most of these industries were located outside the Yerba Buena site. However, the laundry industry operated as dispersed and local businesses. The laundry was on the block as a neighborhood convenience to the customers, and this decentralization meant some Chinese were visible to the local residents on a day-to-day basis. In 1880, for instance, the Yerba Buena Center contained approximately 14 laundries, of which all but one were classified as Chinese. A look at the 1880 census finds few other Chinese residents on the site, except in a few boarding houses, such as the one at 211 Third Street that lodged Chinese fishermen.

Conflict occurred between the working-class white residents and the Chinese. Young toughs stoned passing Chinese immigrants; Irish kids enjoyed harassing the Chinese laundrymen who were delivering or picking up clothes or just resting to get some fresh air in the doorways of their washhouses. The legal discrimination was the most serious, for it directly affected the economic life of the Chinese, and it was born in the politics of the era South of Market. For example, the case of Yick Wo, a Chinese laundryman, concerned whether or not the Chinese small businessman could continue to operate his laundry as he had done on the same spot--349 Third--for twenty years previously.

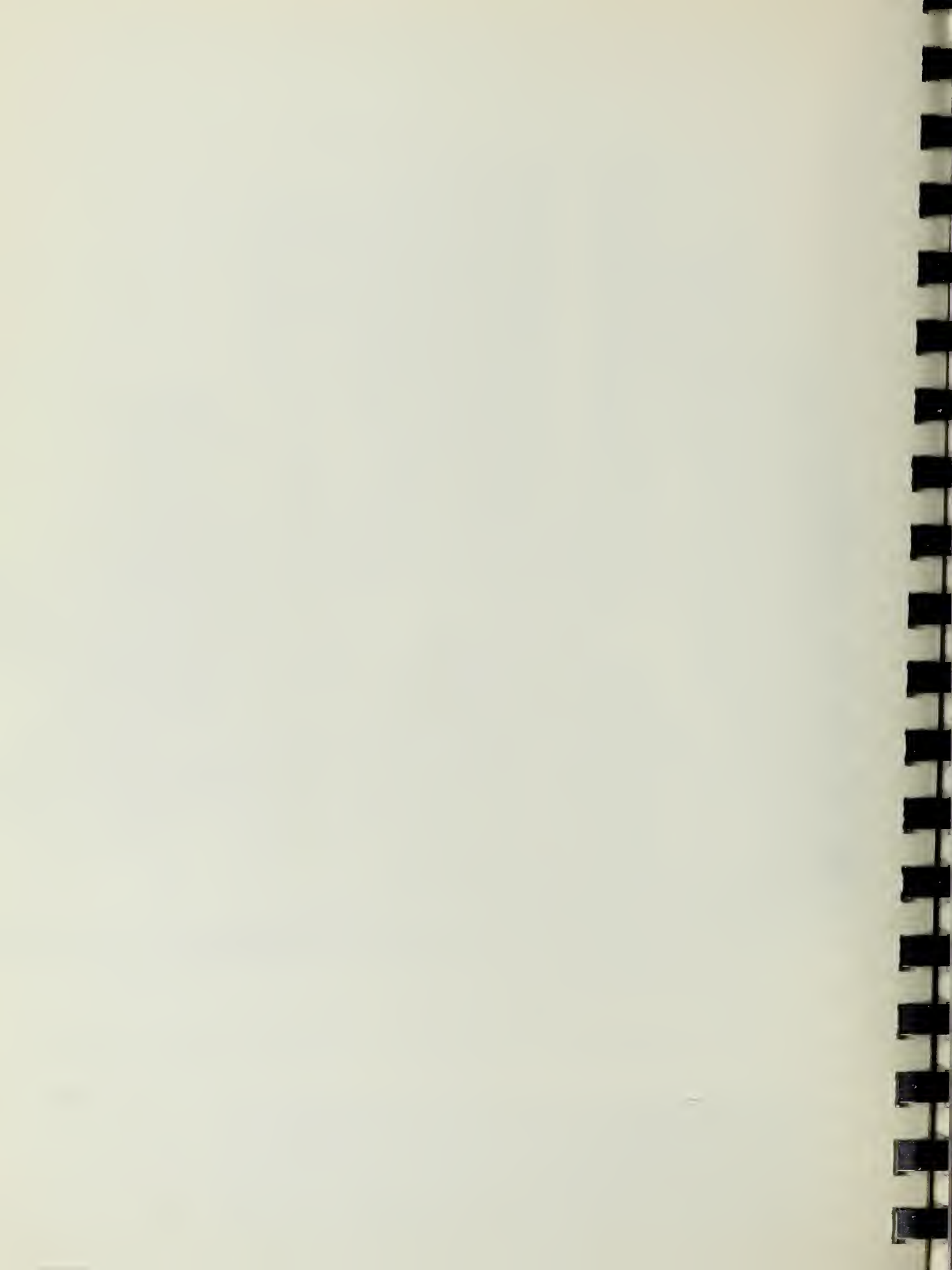
The Yerba Buena area contained fertile earth for the growth of anti-Chinese sentiment. This growth blossomed with the demagoguery of **Denis Kearney** and the rise of the **Workingman's Party of California** in the late 1870's. However, the roots of anti-Chinese feeling had been firmly planted in earlier decades, and with the advent of an economic depression the hatred burst out with the slogan "The Chinese must go."

The recollections of "South of the Slot" oldtimers provided an indication of the feeling of the white residents toward the Chinese on a daily basis. A sport of the local hoodlums was to greet the newly arrived Chinese "by a fusillade of rocks from the heights above" the Second Street cut. As Harry Umbser remembered it, this "gave them an insight" as "to the future treatment they were to receive from the hoodlums who infested the different parts of the city" (Umbser June 1934: 15).



HOODLUMS AT THE STREET CORNER, SAN FRANCISCO.

Plate 33: Young Irish Toughs Find a Tempting Target . . . The corner saloon was the natural gathering place for the workingmen—employed and otherwise. As Kipling observed in San Francisco, "The unemployed have much time because they are always on hand somewhere in the streets. They are called 'the boys' and they are just the men who can always be trusted to rally round any cause that has a glass of liquor for a visible heart . . . An Irishman, and an Irishman preeminently, knows how to work such a saloon parliament" (Kipling 1897). It was the younger hoodlums, sons of the fathers who were often out of work in the mid-1870's, who took a special delight in physical attacks on passing Chinese. As this cartoon from Scribner's observed, their elders did not interfere. (National Maritime Museum of S.F.)



The more established Chinese did not fare much better. Glick remembered that "a Chinese laundry wagon in those days was an eyesore to the boys, and how those cobblestones did fly at them as they passed. What a real treat it was to us to have the 'Chink' get off the wagon, chase us, and how we ran up Hawthorne Street, jumped fences, and sneaked away. It was dangerous sport, but we didn't look at it that way. Today the Chinese laundries have autos and ride peacefully through the streets of our city" (Glick 1930: 16). The danger in the sport apparently came from the retribution the offended Chinese could wreak or from injuring oneself while scampering over obstacles rather than from a fear of parental or police discipline.

The South of Market boys used other materials besides handy paving blocks to worry the Chinese with. Occasionally some boys obtained red peppers and tossed them on stoves the Chinese used to heat irons for smoothing shirts. Then the boys would run outside and wait for the occupants of the laundry to "come streaming out sneezing their heads off." Roxburgh notes this type of behavior "was only done by naughty boys" (Roxburgh 1928: 13).

The remembrances of these men are instructive as to attitudes concerning the Chinese in the South of Market area. These memories of pranks and assaults primarily centered on intruding Chinese rather than other ethnic groups, giving the impression that these occurrences were not locally discouraged to any great extent. For the Chinese laundryman forced to live in this neighborhood by his contract, amenities of life could not have been too grand. A cartoon (see Plate 33) of a local hoodlum giving a swipe of his foot to a passing Chinese typified the times. The casual visages of the hangers-on at the local bar watching the proceedings indicated a boredom with what may have been commonplace.

Description of a Chinese Laundry: The ubiquitous Chinese laundry was an institution in San Francisco by 1852 (Soulé 1854: 382). Lockwood provides a description of the early industry.

Everyone's clothes were dirty, too. That is 'the greatest privation that a bachelor is in this country exposed to,' Wyld's guide warned would-be immigrants to California. Laundresses charged \$5-\$8 to wash and press a dozen shirts and, even

then, 'you have to court them besides,' complained Wyld. Some men discarded their shirts when they became dirty; it was just as cheap to buy new ones. Others sent their dirty shirts to Hawaii and China. 'A vessel just in from Canton brought two hundred and fifty dozen (shirts), which had been sent out a few months before,' wrote Bayard Taylor in 1850, while 'another from the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) brought one hundred dozen, and the practice was becoming general. . . . By mid-1849, Mexican and Indian women were washing clothes out by the Presidio along the Fresh Pond, which soon became known as Washerwoman's Lagoon. They were doing so well that several dozen men set up laundries there too. . . . The washerwomen settled on one edge of the lagoon, and the washermen took over the other side. The men 'went into the business on a large scale, having their tents for ironing, their large kettles for boiling the clothes, and their fluted washboards along the edge of the water,' wrote the ever curious Bayard Taylor. 'It was an amusing sight to see a great, burly, long-bearded fellow kneeling on the ground, with sleeves rolled up to the elbows, and rubbing a shirt on the board with such violence that the suds flew and the buttons, if there were any, must soon snap off. Their clear-starching and ironing were still more ludicrous, but, notwithstanding, they succeeded fully as well as the women, and were rapidly growing rich from the profits of their business (Lockwood 1978: 29).

From this rudimentary beginning the laundry business grew steadily, until in 1880 San Francisco harbored three hundred and twenty laundries, of which two hundred and forty "were owned and conducted by subjects of China." The United States Census of 1880 recorded the data that the majority of more than two thousand laundrymen in California were Chinese. A few French hand laundries charged higher prices for meticulous work, but the Chinese dominated this industry on the whole.

A laundry typically employed from five to fifteen workers, with different crews using the same facility day and night. The owners provided on the premises dark cubbyholes for sleeping the off-shifts. Two classes of laundrymen divided the work. The first class, the washers, cleansed the clothes by wetting the fabric in barrels, tubs, or troughs of water, fished the garments out, and beat the articles on a bench or table with blunt instruments. This age-old procedure quickly destroyed all but the sturdiest clothing. The different fabrics, such as linen, wool, or cotton all received the same treatment from the washer. Buttons naturally were



Plate 34: The Chinese in the 1850's as drawn by Charles Nahl have little in common with the Wasp cartoons of the 1870's. Wrote Soule, "The Chinese in San Francisco make an extraordinary feature of the city, and appeal very strongly to the stranger. They are seen in every street quietly passing along. The white immigrant, who may never before have met with specimens of the race, involuntarily stops, and gazes curiously upon this peculiar people, whose features are so remarkable, and whose raiment is so strange, yet unpretending, plain and useful. They are generally peaceable and contented among themselves, and seldom trouble the authorities . . . There are many most respectable merchants of their race. These are active and keen men in bargaining. . . . On occasions of public rejoicing, the Chinese muster in numerous bodies, while their banners, cars, and they themselves, in their most superb array, form striking features in processions. (Soule 1854: 386; Views by Nahl, from *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity*)





lost or destroyed in this process. The washer's stipend amounted to about \$3-\$4 per week plus board and lodging. The rate of pay did not bode well for the lodgings or food, and some accounts maintain both were extremely primitive.

The second class of workers, the ironers, obtained higher wages than the washermen, because of the skills they had to acquire. The ironer used a "flat bottomed pan, open at the top, and filled with red-hot charcoal." An example of this type of instrument can be seen (Plate 34) in a Nahl woodcut depicting a Chinese laundry. "Some of the Chinese men adopted American circular stoves, having racks outside, for the purpose of heating the irons." The fuel for these stoves came from the San Francisco Gas Co. at First and Howard, where the company extracted the gas from coal and sold the remaining coke to the laundries. The ironer's skills repaired the abuse the washerman gave the garments by smoothing the fabric and covering the rents. To wet the clothes for ironing the Chinese ironer used the curious method of filling his mouth with water and spewing the water out in a mist over the garment. Besides this habit, rather objectionable to western senses, the ironer used arsenic to provide a gloss to the finished garment. The product produced by these skilled laborers appeared to the customers to be acceptable, but several observers noted that this perfectly laundered garment quickly showed the abuse given it (Bancroft 1890: 348; Glick 1928: 13).

The apparel of the laundry workers as seen in Nahl's woodcut and described by Kerr consisted of a "loose shirt or jacket and a wide loose pair of pants that look like a large pillow slip cut in two, it being white as a general thing. They (the ironers) keep these things nice and clean, but the washman wares (sic) any old filthy suit he can manage to get to work in" (Kerr 1881: 101).

In spite of the complaints, everyone patronized the Chinese laundry, whether knowingly or not. The Reverend Gibson, a defender of the Chinese, discovered some laundries advertised as "white" that charged higher prices for this status, but were in fact staffed with Chinese laborers. The whites owned the business, drove the wagons, and superintended the workers. The good Reverend did not mention how much this falsity in

advertising affected the business, but in the superheated times of the late 1870's it may have helped (Gibson 1877: 102).

A Chinese organization regulated the Oriental laundries and divided territories into exclusive areas, somewhat similar to franchises, to prevent ruinous competition among themselves. If a Chinese businessman chose to establish a laundry outside this sanction, his life could be placed in danger. A poster translated from Chinese read, according to H. H. Bancroft:

Because here a country has laws and customs which they observed, afterward families also mutually follow, how much more have come down to us for a long time--each man doing his duty dares not observe them. At this time Wong Yee Nui, on Second Street, Orleans Laundry, secretly opened business, so broken rules, resting on his own force, cannot oppose him, therefore assemble in hall. We men, one heart, put forth exertion mutually to aid, must clean him out and avoid after trouble. Therefore deliberate the following particular: In our companies number of friend who has ability first to kill Wong San Chee, thankfully give him 2000 round dollars. Afterward also take Wong Yee Nui, destroy his name, thankfully give him 6700 round dollars. If only wound him, not kill, also give him one half in his hand. At this time what trouble comes cannot tell. If he cannot get away, is seized by foreigners, and put in jail, then our company manage the whole affair. Do not swallow our words; this poster is put up as evidence. Kwong Sui, first year, fifth month. Lucky day fixed. Kwong Hong Ton, put forth" (Bancroft 1890: 347).

Plates 35 and 36 show washhouses in the South of Market area. Yick Wo's business adjoined a blacksmith's forge at 351 Third Street. The sign on the pole proclaimed that **Paul Freidhofer** shoed horses, and one of the smithy's customers is looking at the photographer (lower right corner). The scaffolds on the roofs of the buildings are where the laundry hangs to dry, and extend beyond the limits of Yick Wo's shop in the center. The photo of We Wo's laundry better illustrates the construction of the scaffolds supporting shirt fronts and sheets. The closeness of the laundries to other buildings is obvious, and residents near to these businesses complained of offensive and exotic odors and activity at all hours of the night. The complaints over night work stimulated the Board of Supervisors to institute a laundry curfew.

3027

Filed Jan. 22, 1886
L. A. Sawyer Clerk



IN THE SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA.

In re YICK WO, on habeas corpus, No. 20,126, in bank.

Exhibit 1 for respondent.

CHINESE LAUNDRY HOUSE OF Yick Wo

at No. 349 Third

street, San Francisco, as seen from the

South

Plate 35: Supreme Court Evidence in the Case of Yick Wo . . . Filed with the Supreme Court of the State of California on January 22, 1886, this view of Yick Wo's laundry at 349 Third Street—a site he had used for a laundry for twenty years—was presented as evidence of his violation of a San Francisco ordinance governing the construction of wash-houses. On appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States it was found, "Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet, if it is applied and administered by public authorities with an evil eye and an unequal hand, so as to practically make unjust and illegal discriminations between persons in similar circumstances . . . the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution." (National Archives, San Bruno, Calif.)



About 14 Chinese laundries operated in the Yerba Buena Center in 1887. Many of these laundries are found in the 1880 census located in the same places. From the sources available, it appeared that the Chinese washermen began to move into the South of Market area in the 1860's. For instance, the laundry of Yick Wo opened in 1862 at 349 Third Street.

Minna Street harbored several Chinese laundries within the one block between Third and Fourth streets. On the north side were the laundries of Lee Wing at 282 Minna and Hine Wong at 208 Minna. Lee Wing's building measured 20 by 30 feet. Into it he crammed washing apparatus, stoves and lodgings for his seven men. That building had two stores, plus a basement. It was covered by corrugated metal over wood and the roof had a scaffold for drying the garments. Some of the men living and working there besides Lee Wing were Aoko Kee, Sun Teo, Wen Toy, San Ah, Fock Ah, and Ack Ah. Their ages ranged from the 18-year-olds Aoko, Sun, and Wen to Lee Wing, a venerable 33.

Hine Wong's operation was somewhat smaller, as he employed only four of his fellow countrymen. Again the building was covered with corrugated metal and was two stories, but this shop did not have a basement. All his workers were in their 20's and lived where they worked. Across the street was the largest laundry of the three on this block of Minna. The owner's name was listed only as Jim, but he was Chinese. Jim employed nine other men in his 20- by 45-foot building. The structure was one story and had a basement. One of the workers was 50 years old at the time of the census, an unusually advanced age, for the workers generally tended to be no older than 35. Jim employed a 30-year-old man named Charley, who also was a citizen of China.

The laundries along Minna street were typical of those in the Yerba Buena Center and a further enumeration of them would be redundant, even though it was unusual to have three laundries so close together. One other laundry does command our attention, however. At 777 Folsom the census taker met a situation beyond his depth. There were eight people employed at the laundry and the data gatherer put all eight down under the name of Foot Wo, except for one person named Foot Wo Lung. Four of the Foot Wos were 25, three were 30, and one man was 20.

The Chinese laundries in the South of Market area had a surprising longevity, given the amount of hostility that arose in those neighborhoods with economic depressions. Even in the good times the young toughs enjoyed making sport with the Chinese. With the advent of hard times and the high passions fanned by demagogues and unemployment, the washhouses became targets for these frustrated people who realized that Chinatown was virtually unassailable. The detractors of the laundries called them dirty, noisy, and a fire hazard. Insurance data on this question ran in both pro and con directions, but from all indications, the primary fire threat came from inflamed mobs that torched these isolated outposts of the Chinese rather than risk more dangerous assaults. Apparently the number of men and the double shifts worked in the laundries meant that someone would always be awake and alert to the chance of fire. The problems of noise and smell had some relevance, but the Chinese laundries lasted, frequently longer than the extremely transient population. The laundries provided a needed service at a lower price than the common white laundries or French handwork places. It was this fact that, in the end, determined the longevity of these institutions.

Anti-Chinese Ordinances and the Case of Yick Wo: California's legal initiatives against the Chinese began in the 1850's with the mining laws taxing the Chinese in the gold fields and cropped up in subsequent measures as exotic as the discriminatory forms of controlling the Chinese laundry business in San Francisco in the 1880's. What particularly concerns the history of the Yerba Buena site is the case of Yick Wo, whose laundry problems reached the United States Supreme Court.

The first ordinances directed at the laundries appeared in 1866, when the San Francisco Board of Supervisors placed a tax on laundries using vehicles drawn by animal power (S.F. Ordinance 1866: #697). The use of taxation characterized the laundry ordinances until 1880. Discrimination against the Chinese laundries did not exist in legal form until 1873, when a modification of the 1866 law was passed. This modification consisted of taxing the laundries which did not use animal-drawn vehicles at the same rate as the laundries which used more than two. The Chinese



Plate 36: We Wo's Chinese Laundry at 505 Minna, 1886 . . . Another exhibit in the Yick Wo case, this view (above) shows the construction of the drying platforms that were a necessary part of the business. These platforms were often erected on top of other adjoining businesses. Below, is the laundry of Sang Lee at 924 Howard Street, where the large homes had already begun to take on a seedy, down-at-the-heels appearance in what had been an elegant neighborhood in the 1860's. (National Archives, San Bruno, California)





in particular did not use horse-drawn vehicles; so while the ordinance did not specify the Oriental as being the target of the tax, the effect was just the same. This particular ordinance lasted less than a year, perhaps due to public outcry or a change of heart by the supervisors. In any case this reprieve was short-lived.

In 1876 the Board of Supervisors resurrected in Ordinance 1264 the malignant features of inequitable taxation contained in the 1873 ordinance. As one contemporary observer noted, "In the race between fair dealing and discrimination up to this point, it is difficult to determine which holds the advantage." The supervisors, however, had another change of heart two years later when they went to a tax system based on the number of employees used by a particular laundry. The same observer commented on this change as "too just to excite criticism" (Van Shaick 1885: 5).

An analysis of the legal situation in the period from 1866 to 1880 in regard to laundries shows the attempts to discriminate against the Chinese to be solely on a tax level, and this parallels the state's history of taxing alien miners and fishermen. However, in San Francisco such discriminatory taxes were levied only three years out of fourteen. Other instances of discrimination were more odious, such as the "Queue Ordinance," which allowed jailers to cut the hair of inmates to within one-quarter inch of the scalp--thus under the guise of a health measure dealing out special insult to the Chinese. But this and other examples were directed at the Chinese personally rather than their businesses.

By 1880 the San Francisco supervisors began to display a different strategy in their attempts to control the competition of the Chinese laundries. San Francisco City Ordinance #1559, of 1880, specified that all new laundry buildings would be made of brick or stone, with a metal roof and metal-covered doors and shutters. This regulation was followed by a more stringent one three months later, which required the approval of the Board of Supervisors for opening a laundry made of wood. The penalty for violating the ordinance was a fine not exceeding \$1000 and/or imprisonment for up to six months.

To show the sweeping extent of the ordinance, one must keep in mind that about three hundred and ten laundries out of approximately three hundred and twenty were built of wood. From all appearances, the ordinances would give the Board of Supervisors control over who could or could not open a laundry.

However, this was not the case in the first few years of the 1880's. The Workingman's Party of California elected **Isaac Kallach** as mayor of San Francisco, but they failed to elect any party members to the Board of Supervisors. This curious state of affairs brought about a stalemate between the mayor and the supervisors which short-circuited the program against the Chinese laundries for several years. Not until the administration of **Washington Bartlett** (1883-1886) did the enforcement of the ordinances begin to affect the Chinese. Hence it was that Yick Wo appeared before Police Court #2 of San Francisco charged with the violation of Order 1569 and Order 1587.

Yick Wo's lawyers immediately petitioned the California Supreme Court for a writ of **habeas corpus** on the grounds that the ordinances were unconstitutional because they allowed the supervisors to discriminate among laundry operators. Yick Wo had complied with all the regulations specifying the need for fire warden and sanitation certificates, but still he had been denied the approval of the Board of Supervisors on July 1, 1885. It was not solely Yick Wo's problem, for one hundred and fifty Chinese had been arrested on the same charge. The non-Orientals fared better under the law because some eighty laundries which operated under the same circumstances as the Chinese wooden laundries were unmolested by the authorities. When the Chinese applied to the Board of Supervisors for permission to operate in wooden buildings, that permission was refused in all cases, while of the three non-Chinese who applied for supervisory consent two were allowed to continue in business. The lone exception to those three was a widow named Mary Meagles.

The opinion of the California Supreme Court supported the constitutionality of the San Francisco ordinance. The court reasoned that the supervisors could regulate or prohibit all occupations dangerous to the public safety. They went on to say that the supervisors were made the

judges of what was dangerous to the public safety, and while they had not prohibited the establishment of laundries, they had regulated the "places at which they should be established." Yick Wo lost the case because the court did not deem it necessary to go behind the law into its actual operation where it was obviously used to lessen Chinese competition.

An insight into the operation of the Chinese in defending themselves came from the opposition briefs presented to the California Supreme Court in the Yick Wo case. As previously stated, the Chinese laundries were controlled by an organization which provided protection against the competition of fellow countrymen. This organization, the Tung Hing Ton, paid for the lawyers that carried Yick Wo's case to the Supreme Court. One of the opposing lawyers described the Tong's business by saying:

That it has employed and now employs at very great expense, some of the most distinguished, fertile and powerful members of the bar of San Francisco to defend its members when charged with violating the regulations of the municipal government of San Francisco. That it does not admit American citizens to its membership, and that it owes no allegiance to the laws of the land. That it encourages, practices, and defends open and continuous violation of such laws of the land as do not receive its approbation. That it does not respect and has not respected the decisions of our police courts, superior court, or even the decisions of this august tribunal when these decisions are unsatisfactory to the Tun Hing Tong.

This lawyer expanded on the various legal strategies hatched by the Tong and its white attorneys. One particularly effective ploy practiced even today by demonstrators was to demand jury trials for three hundred Chinese launderers charged with violating the laundry ordinances. This effectively blocked the Police Court from performing other business from February to October, 1884. Later the strategy switched to head-on attacks against the offending ordinance by bringing test cases to higher courts.

The Tong represented three hundred laundries employing three thousand people with assets of around a quarter of a million dollars. The laundries annually paid in rent, licenses, gas, and water about \$180,000. With this kind of financial muscle behind it, the Tong could indeed afford some of the best legal talent to debate the merits of discriminatory laws in the courts.

After losing the case in the California Supreme Court, Yick Wo's lawyers appealed to the United States Supreme Court. That court gained jurisdiction because of the diversity of citizenship between the Chinese alien and San Francisco Sheriff Hopkins, the man responsible for carrying out the Police Court sentence. The U.S. Supreme Court could not go beyond the facts of the case submitted, but it could rule on procedural matters. In this case it involved whether Yick Wo was "denied a right in violation of the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States." While the court could not pass judgment on the legality of the imprisonment of Yick Wo by the state, it could interpret the operation of the ordinances and whether this actual operation was in conflict with the laws and Constitution of the United States. (6 Sup. Ct. Rep. 1064-1073)

The court proceeded to make an independent evaluation of the ordinances and, differing with the California Court, found the ordinances had been applied so as to give "naked and arbitrary power to give or withhold consent, not only as to places, but as to persons." The court went on to expand this view. Matthews, the justice delivering the opinion, cited areas where the state was justified in controlling the licensing of businesses such as taverns or stores that sold liquor. However, in the case of spiritous liquors the fact of fitness must be submitted to the judges for the license, while in the case of the laundrymen, no such procedure was followed. It would have seemed an absurdity to submit a testimonial of good moral character to open a laundry. Matthews, getting to the heart of the matter, stated:

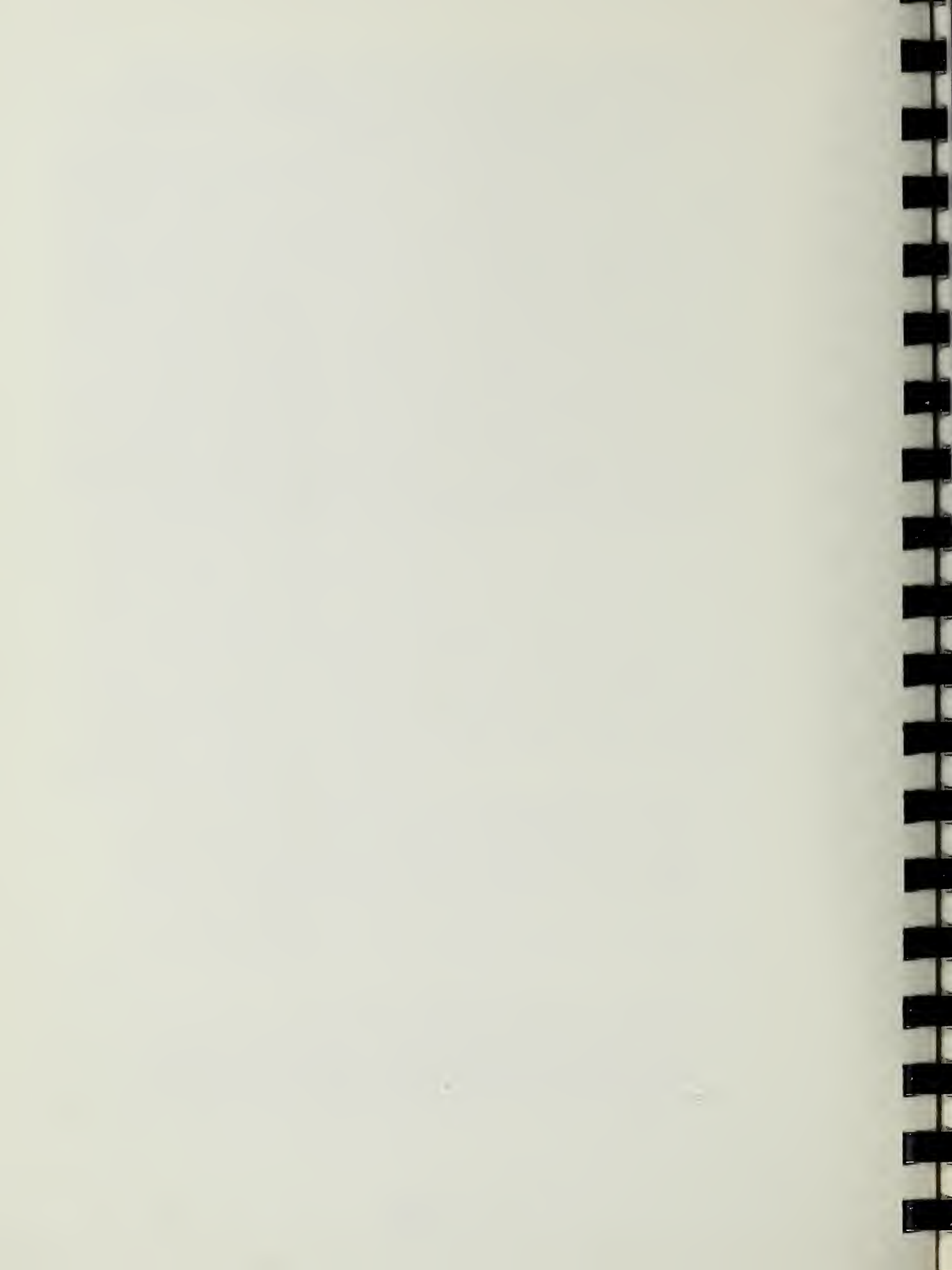
Though the law itself be fair on its face and impartial in appearance, yet, if it is applied and administered by public authority with an evil eye and an unequal hand, so as to practically make unjust and illegal discriminations between persons in similar circumstances, material to their rights, the denial of equal justice is still within the prohibition of the Constitution.

This statement was followed by a ringing condemnation of the discrimination.

No reason for it is shown, and the conclusion cannot be resisted, that no reason for it exists except hostility to the race and nationality to which the petitioners belong, and which in the eye of the law is not justified. The discrimination is, therefore, illegal, and the public administration which

enforces it is a denial of the equal protection of the laws and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution. The imprisonment of the petitioners is, therefore, illegal, and they must be discharged.

Yick Wo won the case against the sheriff and the discriminatory laundry laws were struck down. The Board of Supervisors returned to the method for obtaining licenses after inspections by the fire wardens and health office. Although the prejudices did not by any means disappear, this early civil rights case upheld the rights of the Chinese to conduct a business without discriminatory restrictions. In addition the case did not signal any wave of liberal interpretation of discrimination as the later *Plessey v. Ferguson*, ("separate but equal") case was to prove. It is, however, worthy of note when put into relation with the South of Market area and the heated times, that a Chinese laundryman from that area frustrated the attempts of San Francisco officials to control the economic competition of the Chinese through discriminatory ordinances.



Chapter VIII

THE YERBA BUENA CENTER IN THE 1880'S . . .

The memorial cortege of a policeman in the 1880's brought out the photographer at Vandersweep's Photographic Galleries at 64 Third Street who took advantage of a convenient perch above the teeming South of Market crowd that lined Mission Street, dressed in their appropriate somber best, to watch the procession of decorated horses pulling the carriages of dignitaries past St. Patrick's Church. The whole character of South of Market in the 1880's is caught in this outpouring of public respect for "one of our boys," as seen in Plate 37. The straw-hatted mother holds up her beribboned and starched baby to catch a glimpse of the parade, while beside her, a man in a slouch hat cups his chin. A man in a derby cuts across before the cortege at the corner of Third Street, and another pushes past the couple with the child, as small boys press to the front of the line of the crush. White-gloved police step to the solemn cadence on the basalt block pavement, and silk-hatted drivers rein their horses in an effort to keep abreast. Behind the tangle of telephone and trolley wires there is a fine view of the row along the north side of Mission.

George Ahrens and George Pein ran the corner saloon in 1886, with a small restaurant next door. The upper floors were occupied by the photographer, who produced tintypes, crayon colored photographs of either groups or individuals, and did solar printing as well. Beyond, a French mansard roof marked the three-story lodging house that would have been popular with theatrical types, for it was next door to the Opera House.

The **Opera House**, seen in a less than inspiring view in Plate 38, was built during the depression of 1873. The skeptical notice that appeared

in the *Figaro* read in part, "Ground has been secured for the erection of a large theatre on the north side of Mission Street, one hundred and twenty-five feet west of Third, just opposite Dr. Scudder's church. The sum paid for it was \$25,000. The statement as is usual in project theatre items, is overdrawn . . . the whole scheme hangs fire and will probably be abandoned. Capitalists think even more than twice in these money-tight times before investing \$200,000 in a theatre on Mission Street" (*Figaro*, March 8, 1873). But by November the first story was up and a handsome iron front erected. The Opera House finally opened in January of 1876, three years after the announcement of the project. Dr. Thomas Wade, a dentist prosperous enough to indulge his love of the opera, was the man behind the building of the house.

Although Union Hall had already been in existence for ten years, just one block south of the site chosen for the Opera House, it was not designed for complicated theatrical entertainment of the nature required by the grand opera that Dr. Wade envisioned. Yet both of these halls tended to become rivals for a variety of meetings, performances, and parties during the years. It should be emphasized that when Union Hall opened, it was at the height of the building boom South of Market (1863). Designed for the convenience of the wealthy Rincon Hill residents, it was the scene of charity balls, and dancing school lessons, and had the attraction of San Francisco's handsome Omnibus horsecars (stabled below and across Tehama Street) as a means of getting around town.

But by 1876 Rincon Hill had long been sliced through by the Second Street cut, and the most fashionable and wealthy people no longer used Union Hall as a place for social functions; it was even to become the scene of mass meetings of the Workingmen's Party in the 1870's. By 1877, a "Professor" J. E. Morse was putting on good clean entertainment for 10¢ (a price the South of Market boys could get together by turning in bottles and rags to the junk man), and the whole family could admire the wonders of the Watrigan Family, who were "revolving ball artists," the famous Vaidis Twin Sisters (acrobats), and Otto, the sharpshooting Indian boy (Wettig April, 1931: 31). The downward trend of Union Hall from the standpoint of the kind of upper-class culture that Dr. Wade



Plate 37: A Policeman's Funeral . . .As the cortege passed St. Patrick's, down Mission, the crowd pressed forward at Third and the photographer at Vandersweep's Galleries perched on the awning for a dramatic view. Telephone and trolley wires would make this the late 1880's. Wade's Grand Opera House was the third building from the corner saloon, and can be seen, at the right, in 1881. Built during the 1873 depression, the building seated 4,000—too many for financial success, too large for any but the greatest voices. (Bancroft Library)





envisioned should have given him pause--but it didn't. His Opera House was after all designed for bigger things.

The building was the third largest of its kind in the United States at that time, with a frontage of 110 feet and a depth of 275 feet and a seating capacity of 3,000, that was later enlarged to 4,000. Sanborn Map CB-2 gives a correct idea of the layout and dimensions. The vision of the builder was so large that from the beginning it was the size of the structure that created both artistic and financial problems. "Wade's has one great drawback, the stage is so large that it is only suited to spectacle, opera, or Shakespearean productions like *Henry the Vth*" (**New York Dramatic News** August 19, 1876). "It opened with Annie Pixley in **The Snowflake**, as brilliant and as famous a first night as any of old California. All the prominent figures and bejeweled beauty San Francisco could command emerged from carriages to dedicate the latest marvel to Western architecture. . . . The theater itself is on the European model. There are three galleries and a pit, the front part of which is styled the parquette. The back part and the gallery immediately above is the dress circle; the next gallery is the family circle and the top gallery, is devoted to the gods . . ." (**Post**, January 15, 1876).

As predicted, the size of the Opera House coupled with the troubles of the times made for very uneasy financing in which at one juncture the Nevada Bank (controlled by Mackay, Fair, Flood and O'Brien) foreclosed for \$197,877.97. Tom Maguire took over the management in February of 1878, presenting dramatic entertainments. An attempt to produce **The Passion Play** as a grand spectacle in March of 1879 resulted in "a storm of protest from Protestant leaders and the Board of Supervisors." An ordinance was passed after the first performance "prohibiting of any play tending to profane religion." On April 12, Maguire defiantly opened again only to have the spectators treated to the sight of Christ and His disciples being led off stage to jail (**Morning Call** April 18, 1879).

It was the despair of many producers that the Opera House could not be made a paying institution. They tried grand opera, light opera, and finally in 1882, Charles Andrews and L. T. Stockwell opened with sensational melodramas like **East Lynne**, **Camille**, and **The Woman in Red**.

It became a "people's theater" with prices ranging from 75¢ to 25¢. But even **The White Slave** and **Passion's Slave** couldn't fill the enormous house. "The dampening effect of a nearly empty auditorium and the vast space which few voices can penetrate distinctly unless it is comfortably filled with people was perceptible in this performance" (**Examiner** August 12, 1883).

Through the years there were various highlights, such as the debut of Adelina Patti (1883), a tribute to James Marshall (1884), and Emma Nevada's debut in **Lucia di Lammermoor** (1885), but again and again the doors closed on financial and artistic flops. On the closing night of 1887, a critic blasted, "The San Francisco public has again proven its childishness, its capriciousness, its whimsicality, its willfulness. There is in this community a small set of genuinely appreciative minds, educated minds, broadened by study or travel, but unfortunately they are not in sufficient numbers to make deserving theatrical management profitable. . . . The rest have no more discernment of what is artistic than have the residents of Poker Flat or Bloody Gulch" (**News Letter** April 23, 1887). But the singers would sing and the managers would manage and during the ensuing years the big Opera House stage saw a variety of efforts that included: **Guilty Without Crime**, **Lady Peggy**, Bernhardt in **La Tosca**, and **Cleopatra**, **Ali Baba**, a "super-colossal **Uncle Tom's Cabin** with two Topseys, two Markses, two educated donkeys and eight blood-thirsty hounds," Ellen Terry as Portia, **Dracula**, **The Great Diamond Robbery**, **The Wages of Sin**, **Emma the Elf**, **The Pace that Kills** (featuring ten real thoroughbred horses dashing across the stage) and, with Morosco's Grand Opera House Stock Company, popular thrillers that ran 5,635 consecutive performances. In the end it was fitting that Caruso should have given the last performance on the eve of the quake that finally closed the doors forever.

Across Mission Street from the Grand Opera House and St. Patrick's Church was a row of shops and businesses that made the scene of life in the Yerba Buena Center in the 1880's. Here in the most densely populated section of the city was the **Ixora Dancing Hall**, directly next door to the chapel of the Howard Street Presbyterian Church, seen in Plate 39. The dance hall could be rented for private parties, but most



Plate 39: Howard Street Presbyterian Church, 1884 . . . Organized in 1850, the congregation of this church had been through a series of ministers, but by 1884 Dr. McKenzie had increased the membership to 700. Built in the mid-1860's the church was a charming example of early Victorian gothic architecture. The small peaked building at the far left was "The San Francisco Fruit and Flower Mission"—probably with some Presbyterian connection. Next door to the chapel, the three-story building was to house the Ixora Dancing Hall in 1886, with the Coroner's Office still on the ground floor. Across Mission Street was St. Patricks and the Grand Opera House. (Bancroft)



of the time was operated as a public dance hall with a bar and cloak room on the second floor of the three-story building that had a disparate group of businesses in operation on the first floor. At 731 Mission was a Mineral Water Depot, directly next door was the undertaking establishment of **William Mallady**, who was the official undertaker for the city of San Francisco and ran his business, with some eye to convenience, next door to the Protestants and across the street from the Catholics. At 735 Mission, **Michael Hannan** ran his saloon, and next door was a second-hand furniture store; beyond that **A. M. Fuhrman** had a wire works, and next there was a coppersmith. At 755 and 757, **Hans Johnson** ran his carpenter's shop, with **Marlon F. Wells**, a sculptor. These small shops generally had a Mission Street frontage of about 20 feet. The owners of buildings, like the one that housed the Ixora Dance Hall, partitioned off valuable street frontage into as many deep narrow shops as the trade would bear. The larger establishments like the undertaker and the mineral water depot, were 100 feet deep; the smaller shops, such as those shared by the carpenter and the sculptor, were only 50 feet deep. On the same side of Mission, towards Fourth Street, there was a plumber, a tailor, another undertaker, a bronze works, several more saloons, and a bottling works. The **Hancock Hotel** was a five-story rooming house that dated from the mid-1870's. Built with bay windows facing Mission Street, it had still another row of bay windows in the back that must have originally faced some better view than the out-houses and sheds of the small cottages that backed up against it from Minna Street. At the corner of Fourth and Mission there was a cluster of saloons, with lodgings above.

The Irish and Saloon Politics: Along the south side of Mission, on Central Block 2, there were several saloons in 1886, run by owners who were either of German or Irish extraction. For every Blohm or Brickwedel, there was a Connelly and a Sheehan. The 1880 census shows the ratio of Irish to Germans was changing by 1880, as compared to the earlier 1860 study. Of the 104,244 foreign-born in San Francisco in 1880, there were 19,928 Germans (19%) as compared to 30,721 Irish (29.5%). The city directory in 1886 listed an estimated 1140 retail liquor establishments

in San Francisco. Of these, some were grocery stores that "put up a plank and served some drinks in back." Others were saloons with a range of "free lunches" that included the fancier spreads that served corned beef and sausage with hard-boiled eggs, to those that only put out pickles and chips. But the near-monopoly of German ownership of grocery stores and saloons in 1860, as described previously, was broken as early as the 1870's. According to the South of Market boys, in 1868, Austin Keely and John Bolts ran the corner saloon at Third and Howard, where it was said, "Here is where they done the politics of the districts." The Democratic "Americus Saloon" was located there from 1871 through 1878. It numbered 50 members who met there every Monday night. According to Morphy, its members included Fire Chief Dennis Sullivan, as well as State Senator William H. Williams (Morphy 1919: 89).

Rudyard Kipling's observations on San Francisco's saloon politics were made at the culmination of "Blind Chris" Buckley's career in 1889, but he might as well have been speaking for a span of thirty years, or more, from the late 1870's:

Since every man has a vote and may vote on every conceivable thing, it follows that there exist certain wise men who understand the art of buying up votes retail, and vending them wholesale to whoever wants them most urgently. Now an American engaged in making a home for himself has not time to vote for turn-cocks and district attorneys and cattle of that kind, but the unemployed have much time because they are always on hand somewhere in the streets. They are called 'the boys'. . . . They are just the men who can always be trusted to rally round any cause that has a glass of liquor for a visible heart. . . . The wise man is he who, keeping a liquor-saloon and judiciously dispensing drinks, knows how to retain within arm's reach a block of men who will vote for or against anything under the canopy of Heaven. Not every saloon-keeper can do this. It demands careful study of city politics, tact, the power of conciliation, and infinite resources of anecdote to amuse and keep the crowd together night after night, till the saloon becomes a salon. An Irishman, and an Irishman preeminently, knows how to work such a saloon parliament. . . . The rank and file are treated to drink and a little money--and they vote. He who controls ten votes receives a proportionate reward; the dispenser of a thousand votes is worthy of reverence. . . . Every big city here holds at least one big foreign vote--generally Irish, frequently German. In San Francisco, the gathering place of races, there is a distinct Italian vote to be considered, but the Irish vote is more important. . . . He is made for the cheery dispensing of

liquors, for everlasting blarney, and possesses a wonderfully keen appreciation of the weaknesses of lesser human nature. . . . He keeps to the streets, he is on hand, he votes joyously, spending days lavishly. . . . Today the city of San Francisco is governed by the Irish vote and the Irish influence, under the rule of a gentleman whose sight is impaired, and who requires a man to lead him about the streets. He is called officially "Boss Buckley". . . . He controlled the Democratic party in the city of San Francisco. The people appoint their own judges. Boss Buckley's people appointed judges. These judges were naturally Boss Buckley's property . . . Contracts for road-mending, public buildings, and the like, are under the control of Boss Buckley . . . and on every one of these contracts Boss Buckley levies his percentage for himself and his allies (Kipling 1897: 368-370).

Kipling was not known as a man lacking in personal bias, but his observations on San Francisco, the Irish, and saloon politics were keen and correct. By 1917, Chris Buckley had long since "retired" from the political arena and found himself at a distance that was safe enough to publish the means by which he controlled San Francisco for so many years. His reminiscences were carried by **The Bulletin**, as a feature, from 1917 through 1919. His observations on his organization of San Francisco politics in 1882 follow:

I proposed to portion off the city into forty-seven districts and organize Democratic clubs in each. Every Democrat in the district to be eligible to membership, and each club entitled to elect a pro rata number of delegates to both the State and Municipal conventions. The plan was adopted and proved serviceable at once.

To be sure, all this preliminary work, which was like marshalling an army, involving the employment of trained assistants, engaging halls, bonfires, and brass bands, required much time and money. This was openly and legitimately subscribed to by various men of the highest character whose sole impulses were party spirit and hope for better government (Buckley December 28, 1918).

Buckley went on to describe the upkeep of his standing political army:

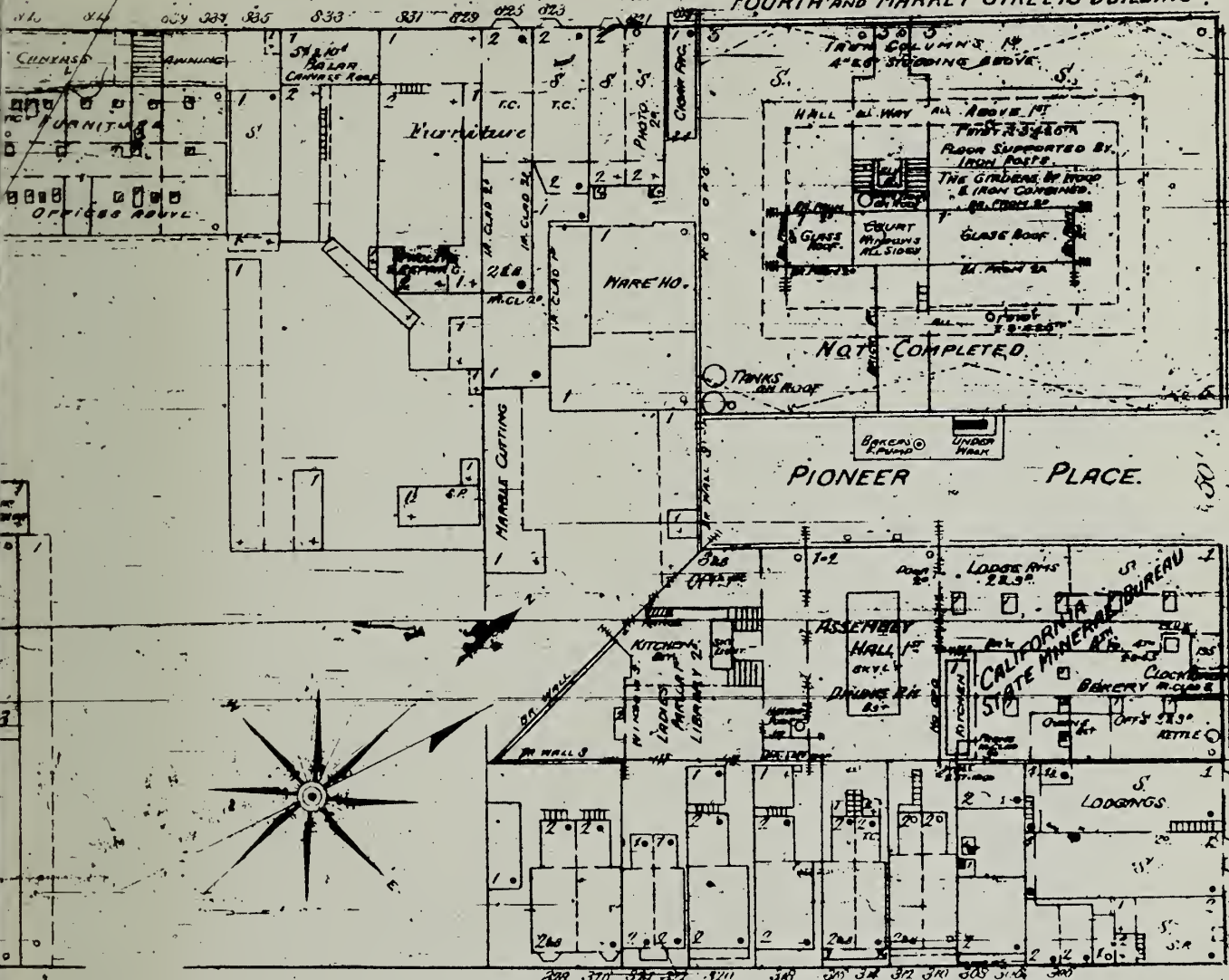
Many thousands of voters were enrolled in the clubs. Most were active young men, prominent in the ward or precinct where they were probably born and nearly all of them dependable fighters on election day. It was my policy to give as many as possible some kind of dignity. Thus the officers of the clubs were too numerous to mention. Committees were still more numerous, with very large memberships. . . . So perfect was the organization and its discipline that the municipal ticket was always won, except

on the final election in 1890. . . . The boys had to be kept amused . . . clam bakes, bull-head breakfasts, followed each other in perpetual succession. . . . Patronage wouldn't go around or even approximately go around. . . . I had to be an employment agency on the most wholesale scale possible. . . . The expenses of organization were very heavy, as you may judge but the income was equally large. . . . It was surprising to see how universal was the desire of men of substance, firms and corporations to be on the right side of politics (Buckley January 28, 1919).

In the days before the "Australian ballot" reform, parties or factions printed complete ballots for the convenience of voters who otherwise had the dubious option of writing down each office and their choice of candidates on a slip of paper provided by themselves. While the voter might select amongst the ballots thrust upon him by husky party workers, or alter ("scratch") names on the ballot chosen, in practice there was nothing remotely resembling the secrecy of present voting. To "vote the straight ticket" was not a matter of marking all of the candidates of the preferred party--it was merely a matter of depositing the ballot handed out by the party precinct worker. Thus, "Every incumbent boss sought to create a regular ticket that could be recognized by its color and shape. Then, by keeping watch over his flock, he could make sure that none of his lambs strayed away to a rival camp. To break the control of the machine, an insurgent leader would have to supply potential defectors with a ballot of the same size and color as the regular ticket--or else face the likelihood that they would be beaten up or chased away from the polling booths" (Reinhardt 1966: 37). This explains Chris Buckley's strategy on election day:

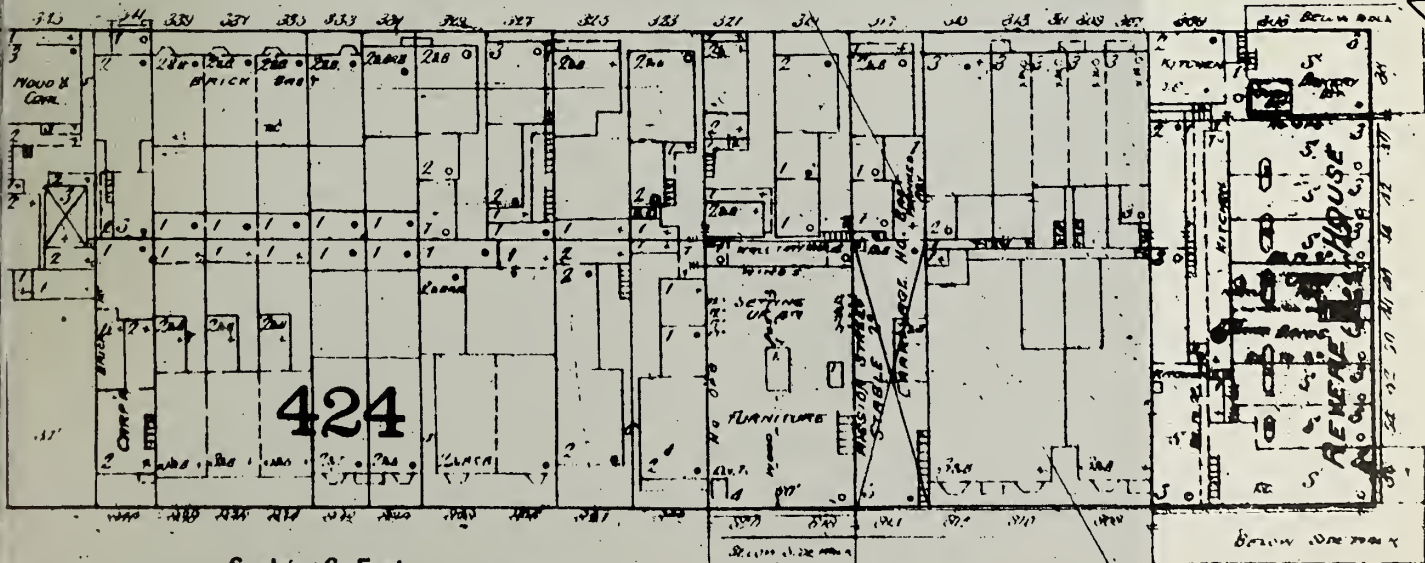
The general election day was also the occasion of a general riot and a general drunk. Saloons were opened all the previous night and most of the electors showed up with a holdover. All day long the saloons were wide open and liquor practically free. No hundred-foot limit was fixed to confine the energy of active workers. Contests over who should vote a wavering elector were carried into the election booth, often accompanied by violence and bloodshed. . . . The first thing that was essential on election day was to send out competent scouts to run down 'phoney tickets'. . . . No political asset was more valuable than the possession of a good right and the power to deliver a stiff jolt on the point of the jaw. Many statesmen literally fought their way to success (Buckley January 17, 1919).

FOURTH AND MARKET STREETS BUILDING

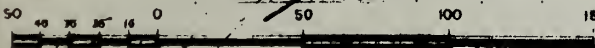


PIONEER PLACE

JESSIE STREET



Scale of Feet



MISSION

4th STREET CALIFORNIA PIONEERS BLDG



Although such practices were subject to reform moves, such as a legislative ban on the printing of election ballots with invisible nitrate of silver that would darken when exposed to light so that new candidates could be added, the practice of outright threats to voters continued. As late as 1890, in one crucial election, the voters had to climb a 30-foot ladder to get to the ballot box to deposit translucent tickets that devoted party workers could watch from below for any scratch marks; this was the Isinglass Ticket (Reinhardt 1966: 39).

It was said that Blind Chris Buckley got his start with a mysterious \$100,000 gift and the aid of a potent friend high in the San Francisco Fire Department (Kelly December 5, 1917). David Scannell, who had been the sheriff who opposed the Vigilance Committee in 1856, and represented political bossism, New York, Tammany-type politics, and Broderick Engine #1, had through the 1860's alternated as Fire Chief with Franklin E. R. Whitney, who represented "good government," WASP, business interests, and Howard Engine Company #3. In 1873 Scannell became Fire Chief for the third time--and held the job until 1893. He was followed by Dennis Sullivan, Patrick Shaughnessy and Thomas Murphy, which brings us up to 1929, but not to the last of the Irish fire chiefs.

That the Irish controlled the police department of San Francisco was equally obvious. Patrick Crowley was chief in 1866, followed by Theodore G. Cockrill in 1873, Henry H. Ellis in 1875, John Kirkpatrick in 1877, Patrick Crowley (again) in 1879, I.W. Lees in 1897, and William P. Sullivan in 1900. The importance of the Irish control of authority in the streets of San Francisco could hardly be underestimated at election times.

Industries and Institutions of the '80's: The Sanborn Maps of 1887 show the site of the Yerba Buena Center to have been largely residential--at least three fourths of the buildings were primarily residential, and of the remaining structures it was characteristic that many of the shops had lodgings above. The largest single industry in the Yerba Buena site was **Wieland's Philadelphia Brewery** which has been discussed at length in the **Edge of Rincon Hill--Eastern Block-3**. This pioneer San Francisco brewery

was started with the purchase of the late Captain Joseph L. Folsom's property on Second Street in 1856. The brewery prospered, enlarging again and again through the 1860's, '70's and '80's. Enlarged again and modernized in 1894, Wielands managed to survive the 1906 earthquake, in part, and was rebuilt--to be devastated by Prohibition. Although the company reopened around 1930, producing ginger ale and weak beer, Wieland's lost its potent household recognition as "the San Francisco beer."

The Albany Brewery was a much smaller early San Francisco enterprise. The Sanborn Map for Central Block 2 shows the company thirty years after it was founded by **Claus Spreckels** on the south side of Natoma (or Everett) Street. A native of Hanover, Spreckels had immigrated to San Francisco from South Carolina in 1856. He started the Albany Brewery with a modest investment saved from the grocery business. His ad in Langley's 1861 City Directory advertised the Spreckels Brothers as proprietors, supplying "Superior Cream Ale to the increasing demands of the Public" and noted that the brewery had been enlarged for the third time during the past season. The buildings at 71 and 75 Everett Street (Sanborn Map CB-2) appear to have been the original structures from 1857, with the malt house added across the street by 1861. According to Hittell, the Spreckels Brothers (Claus and Frederick) sold out in 1863 to organize the Bay Sugar Refinery Company, which was to result in the great Spreckels sugar enterprises that extended to include Hawaii (Hittell 1882: 317). However, an ad in the City Directory for 1869-70 still identified the Spreckels' as the owners of the Albany Brewery. By 1887, Frederick Hagemann, Jr., and John A. Schaertzer were listed as the owners. The Albany continued to operate on this site until 1903.

Plates 40 and 41 contrast the ads of the Wieland operation on Second Street, which featured Captain Folsom's gothic-carpenter Gold Rush house as a kind of pioneer landmark. Folsom's homestead was actually used as a residence by the Hoeschler family (partners in the Wieland operation) in 1860 and later as both the Wieland home and the company office. The Albany Brewery printed the same woodcut each year, implying a continual process of enlargement that belies the plant's modest proportions.

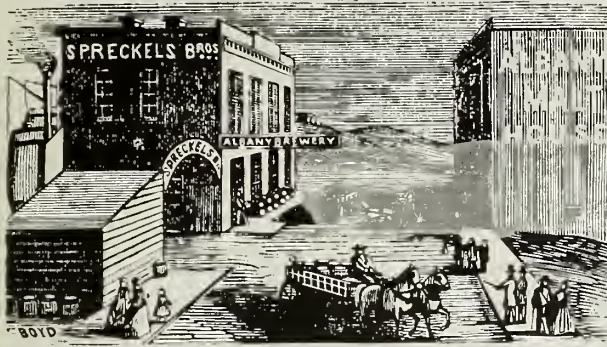
H. SPRECKLES.

C. MANGELS

ALBANY BREWERY,

SPRECKLES & CO., Proprietors.

71, 73 AND 75



EVERETT STREET,
(Between Third and Fourth.)

756 & 758 HOWARD STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

This Establishment has been enlarged for the third time during the past season, and now possesses facilities unsurpassed by any competitor for the production of

SUPERIOR CREAM ALE,

TO SUPPLY THE INCREASING DEMANDS OF THE PUBLIC.

F. HAGEMANN.

C. BROMMER.

Plate 40: The Albany Brewery, 1869 . . . Founded by the Spreckles brothers in 1857, the small plant was enlarged with a malt house added on the north side of Everett in about 1860. The Gold Rush building is to the left. Although the Spreckles went on to build their sugar empire, the brewery used their name and this early woodcut for decades.

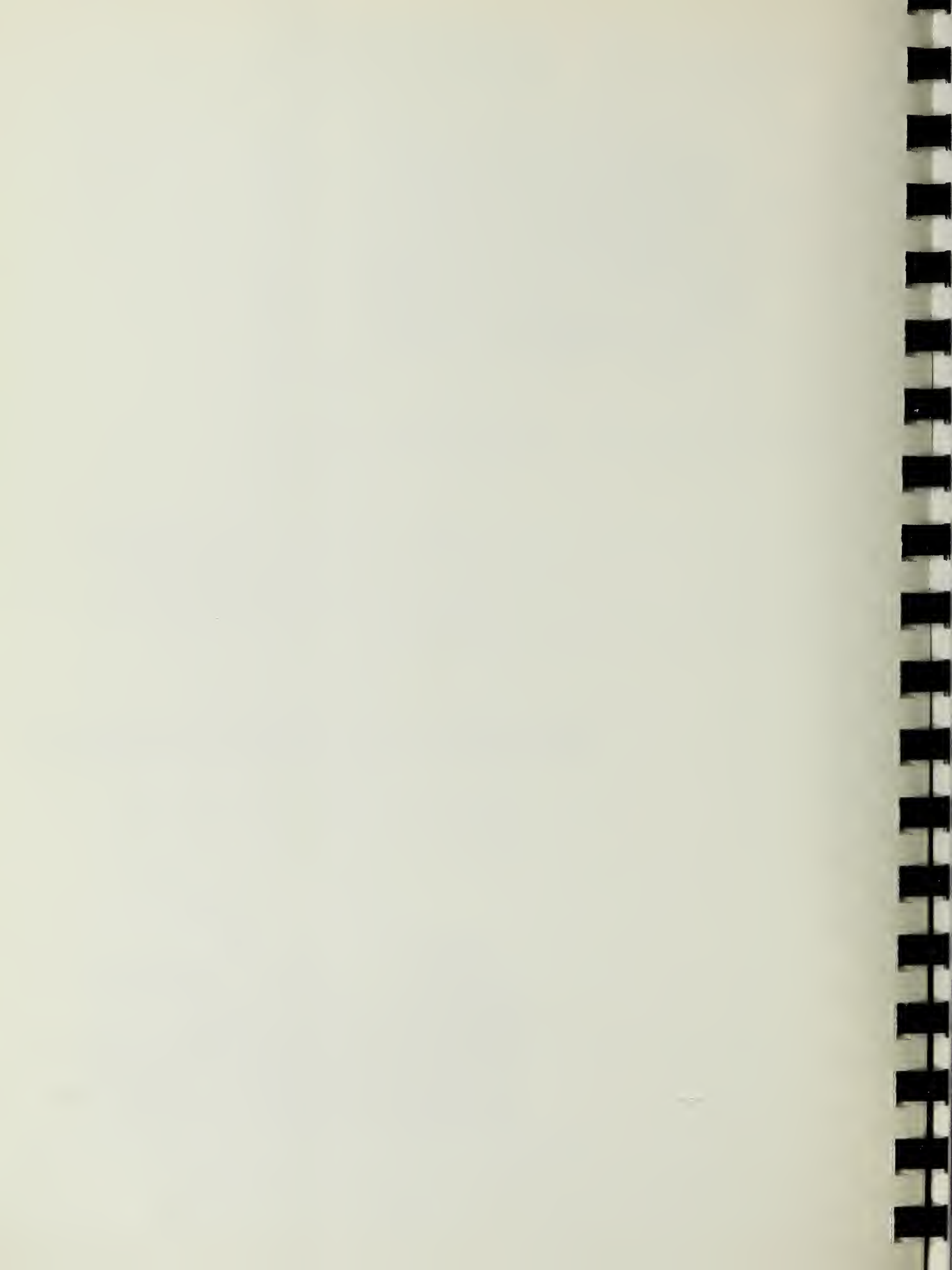
Plate 41: The Wieland Brewery, 1879 . . . Captain Folsom's peaked-roofed cottage, to the left, became first the residence for the Hoelscher-Wieland families, and later was kept as the company office when Wieland's became the biggest industry on the Yerba Buena site. (Both, Langley's Directories)

PHILADELPHIA

BREWERY.



Corner of Second and Folsom Streets,
SAN FRANCISCO.



Another small brewery on the Yerba Buena site was founded by the Koster family. The 1859 City Directory shows the **Union Brewery** to be located on the north side of Mission between Second and Third. By 1861 this brewery had been moved to Folsom near Fourth and was operated by Albert Koster. By 1869 it was relocated once again to 326 Clementina, as can be seen on Sanborn Map WB-4, where it was still in operation in 1898. It was renamed the Columbia Brewery and continued on the site until the earthquake and fire of 1906.

The **Pacific Brewery** on Tehama Street has been described in the **Yerba Buena Convention Center** survey in some detail. The Pacific was started in 1863 as Fortmann's Brewery at 271 Tehama Street, near Fourth. Frederick Fortmann was listed even earlier in the San Francisco Directory of 1861 as a bartender at the northwest corner of California and Market streets. From this profitable corner saloon he was able to make the investment in his own brewery. The Sanborn Map published in the **Yerba Buena Convention Center** survey shows the brewery, comparable to the Albany operation, on the south side of Tehama with a livery stable for the brewery horses and wagons. The Fortmanns apparently went out of business in about 1894. Among the other larger bottling industries on the Yerba Buena site were the **Lenormand Brothers Wine Vaults** on Howard Street, founded in about 1868, and the **Somp's Steam Soda Works** on Clementina that dated back to 1875. Both of these industries are described in the survey dealing with the Moscone Convention Center Block.

Among the largest of the earlier employers on the Yerba Buena site were the horsecar lines. The **Omnibus Railroad Company** originally operated from the old Gold Rush stables on Third Street in the Convention Center Block and became part of the Donahue operation at Union Hall in 1863. As late as 1887 they were still operating along Howard Street out of Union Hall. On Western Block 4 the Sanborn Map of 1887 shows the last of the operation of the **North Beach and Mission Railroad**, which still had offices on the southwest corner of Fourth and Louisa. Martin Kelly recalled this as the "Skelly line," referring to Michael Skelly, who was still superintendent of the horsecar line in 1887:

The old rattletrap horse car railroads of San Francisco had

been of little value to their owners. They were confined to the level or near level portions of the city. The only one of considerable length and fair revenue was the North Beach and Mission Railroad--the Skelly road--extending from the north bay shore down Kearny Street and out Fourth Street to what was known as the South End. . . . Then the Halladie invention [wire-rope cablecar] came along and changed the entire aspect of things--a means of comparatively cheap and rapid transportation at once gave at least a prospective value to street railroad properties. As a result, in 1879, before the sandlot Board of Supervisors came in, every existing street railroad applied for a new franchise for the next fifty years, . . . a flock of franchises were granted at this time, including several to Leland Stanford, Collis P. Huntington, Charles Crocker and their associates. These became the nucleus of the Market Street system (Kelly September 6, 1917).

Martin Kelly was the Republican "boss," rival of Chris Buckley, in the 1880's. **The Bulletin** chose to run their rival opposing (or complementary) memoirs during the same period from 1917 to 1919. Kelly recalled that the disposal of these street railroad franchises was a matter of profitable concern, juggled back and forth between a "Buckley controlled" Board of Supervisors and a Republican mayor. the final result was, according to Kelly, a happy one: "A deep bass voice called for more street franchises, as our Board of Supervisors with its nine dependable members took office in 1885. It was a most happy coincidence. The people wanted better transportation facilities for the rapidly expanding city. The capitalists were falling over each other to get into the game. And we were masters of the situation" (Kelly September 6, 1917).

By the time the Sanborn Map of Western Block 4 was issued, the North Beach and Mission Street Car Company had been in business since its franchise was granted to Michael Skelly in 1861 and the horsecar line opened in 1863 (Langley 1861: 14). The small office was on the southwest corner of Louisa and Fourth, with the stables extending back for 300 feet along Louisa. The company had its own blacksmith, who shod horses on the premises. The "Skelly line" operations extended to Folsom, where more horsecars and stables were built behind the row of shops that fronted on Fourth Street. By 1894, the Market Street Railroad had taken over the North Beach and Mission Railroad as part of its street railroad operation (Handy Block Book 1894: 314).

Albany Brewing Co.

POWER, STEAM - FUEL COAL & COKE IN
LIGHTS GAS - NO WATERMAN
THREE STEAM PUMPS - NO CITY WATER
TWO ARTESIAN WELLS - FOUR LARGE W. TR
TWO TRINKS IN TANK HO. - 600' 1" HO.

Block 1

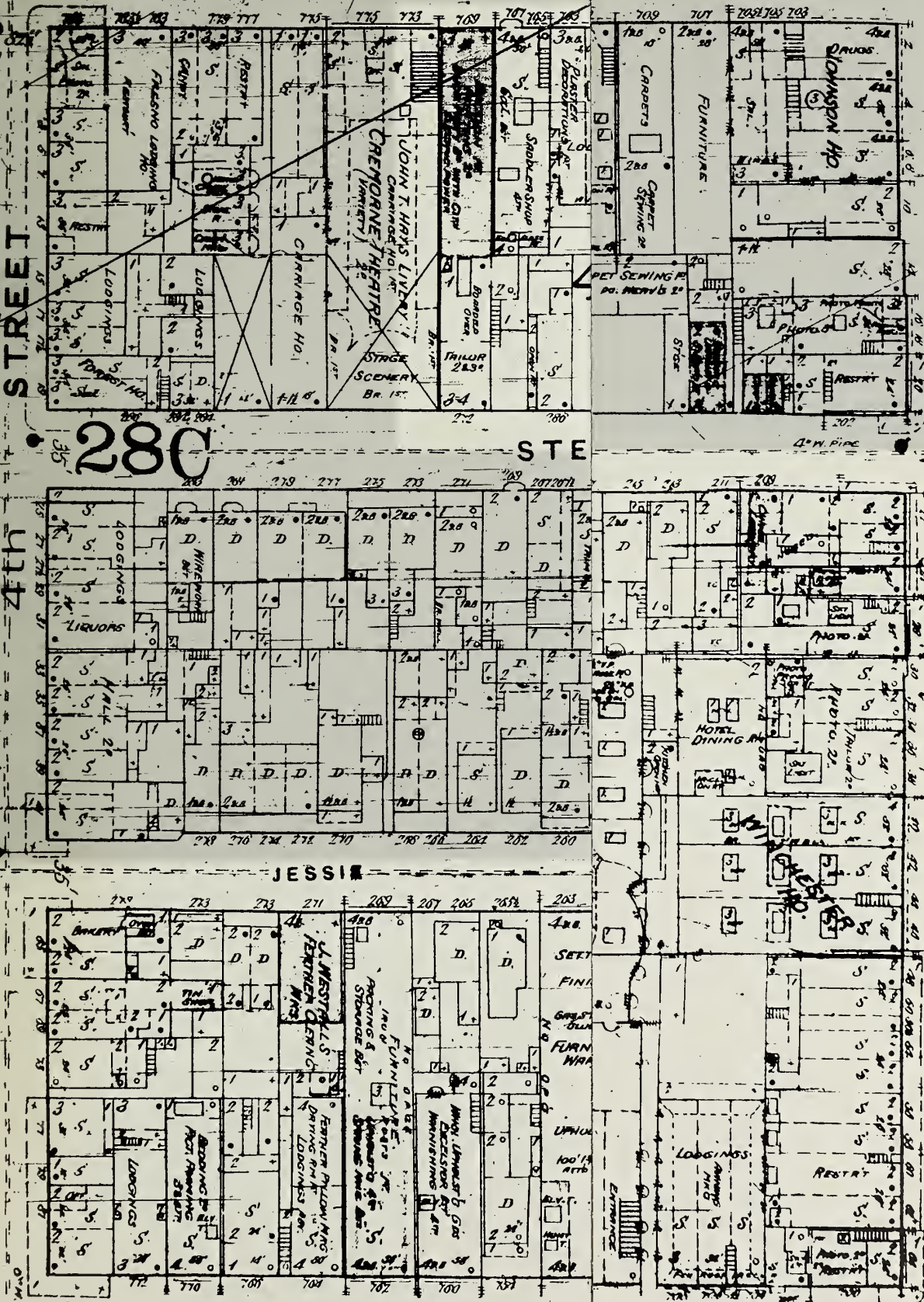
Map Company - 1887

4th STREET

3rd STREET

280

STE



JESSIE

LODGINGS

RESTAURANT

W.M.B.

Albany Brewing Co.
POWER STEAM - FUEL COAL & COKE IN MALT HO.
LIGHTS GAS - NO WATER
THREE STEAM PUMPS - NO CITY WATER
TWO ARTESIAN WELLS - FOUR LARGE W. TANKS ON ROOF
TWO TANKS IN TANK HO. - 500' 1" HOSE

15

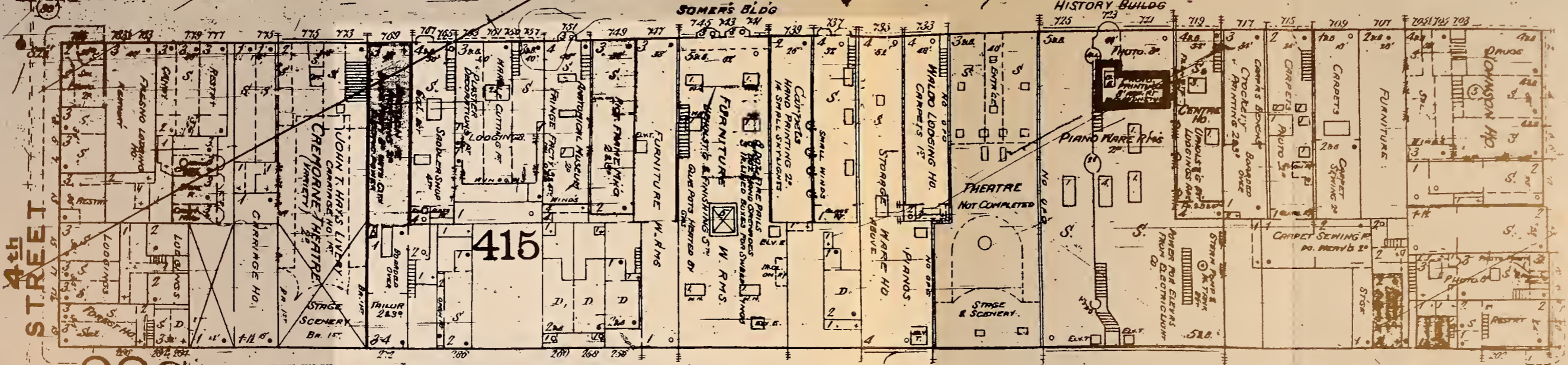
FIRE AL. BOX OPPOSITE

11

* Central Block 1

Sanborn Map Company - 1887

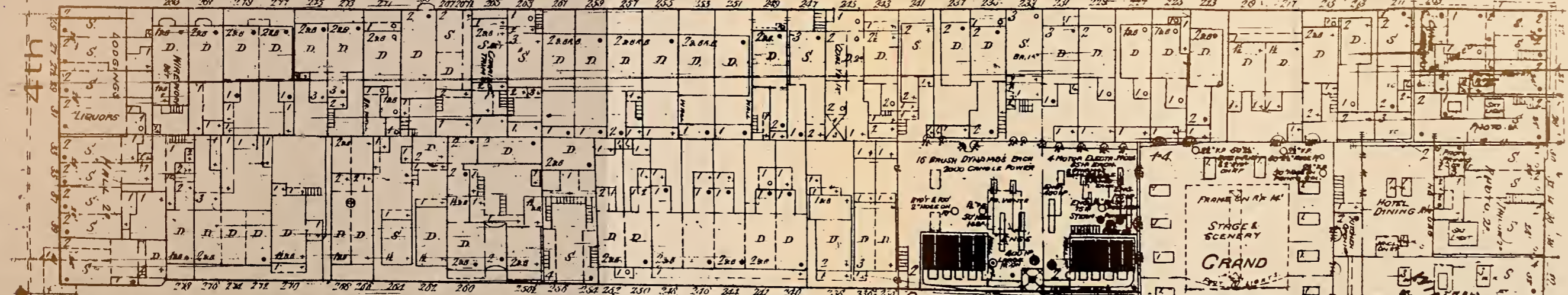
MARKET



415

STEVENSON

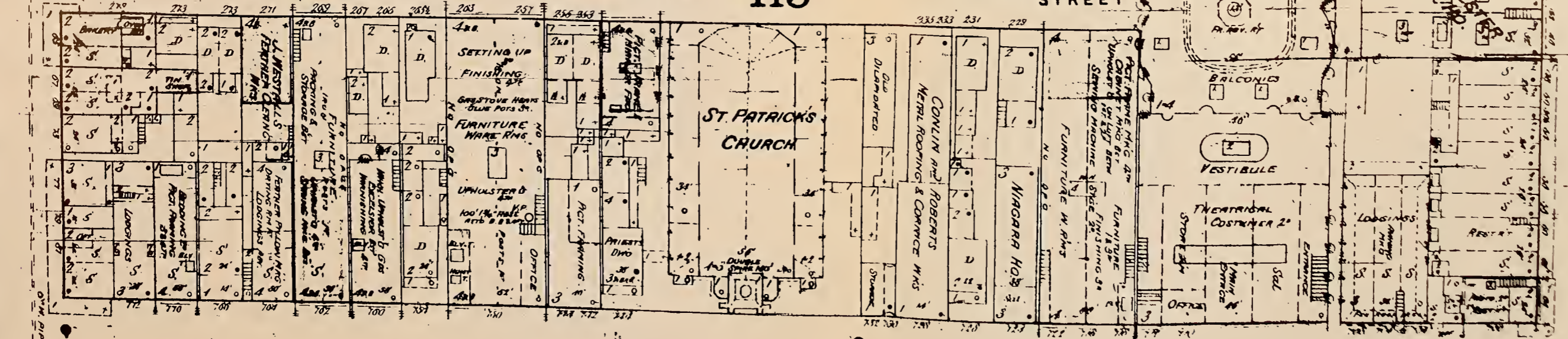
280



415

JESSIE

STREET



MISSION

3rd Street

Charitable Institutions of the 1880's: The abundance of California was both a reality and a myth. As the **Chronicle** commented, "According to Kearney and the Workingmen, California had once been an Eden. Her fields produced enormous crops and her pastures nourished countless animals. . . . The workingmen had been attracted because of a glittering vision. . . . They believed they would become princes and they became underlings" (**Chronicle** December 10, 1877). While few immigrants may have supposed that they were about to become "princes," neither could they have imagined that the golden dream of California was so illusory that they would find themselves frequently hungry, often without jobs, and sometimes ill and helpless. The charitable response to their needs was the human response of those who could feed the hungry and did. During the terrible winter of 1875, many of the South of Market poor were fed by women from the churches, who served thousands of meals that sustained life.

These volunteer efforts became organized into benevolent societies of all kinds, whose names filled the pages of the city directories from 1879 up through 1890. In a sense people tried to care for "their own"--whether that meant an ethnic fellowship, a trade brotherhood, a religious affiliation, or a quasi-social club or fraternal order. For example, in 1880, among the directory pages of benevolent groups was "The Ancient Order of Foresters--The objects of this order are to aid the sick members, give relief to their widows and orphans, find employment for the unemployed and all other benevolent purposes. Five courts have been organized in the city" (Langley 1880: 1111). And we find listed The Association of the Daughters of Israel, The Austrian Benevolent Society, Elks, Boys and Girls Aid Society, British Benevolent Society of California, Celtic Protection and Benevolent Society (offices at 818 Howard Street), Chebra Bikur Cholim Ukedisha Society (part of B'nai B'rith), Exempt Fire Company, Kong Chow Beneficial Society, Order of Hermans Sons, and the Independent Order of Good Templars. Churches and benevolent societies cover pages 1096 through 1134 in small type in the **Langley City Directory** for 1880. Their many clubs and committees built and supported hospitals,

schools, orphan asylums, homes for the destitute, and shelters for the poor and unemployed. Many of these benevolent organizations dated their founding back to the late 1850's or 1860's, but as a large organized mass of charitable institutions they came into their own in the 1870's and 1880's and remained very much a part of San Francisco's life through the 1890's. It was the era of clubs and lodges and societies whose noble purposes (of one kind or another) were translated into very real action in the South of Market area.

For example, the **Little Sisters of Charity** had been operating a vocational school for boys in the basement of St. Patrick's Church on Mission Street in the late 1870's. By 1880, they moved into their new school at 671 Mission. **St. Vincent's School** can be found on Sanborn Map EB-2. The Sisters of Charity property ran between Minna and Mission. It was a four-story building that contained dormitory living quarters for orphans, with a dining room and kitchen that opened onto Minna Street. But it was their purpose to teach the children a trade; therefore we find "sewing machine rooms" (presumably for the girls) and "wire workers" (presumably as a productive trade for the boys). There were parlors and a chapel. Beyond these were rooms for glazing and upholstering over the lower floors of the Mountain View Hotel, that faced on Mission Street. It would appear that these, too, were part of the trade-school operation.

The Little Sisters of Charity operated their school on Eastern Block 2 from early in 1880 until the earthquake and fire destroyed their property in 1906. They reopened their school and included a business college in their post-fire setting on Clementina Street, close to Fifth Street.

The Progress of the City in 1880: Generally the chroniclers of San Francisco's progress who wrote the introductions to **Langley's City Directory** presented an optimistic booster view of the city's growth and prospects, but in 1880 the real estate outlook and economic conditions were viewed with some depression in spite of expectations of good crops for the second year in a row.

General prices have not been so low in San Francisco for a great many years as they were in 1879. There was an average fall from even the low prices of 1878 of at least 10%. . . . we cannot point to a single district in the city



in which prices advanced in 1879, while a few places at North Beach, below Folsom, and between First and Ninth Streets, and on the flat east of Howard Street, at the Mission, many sales were made at exceedingly low prices. Indeed, in some of these places it has been next to impossible to say what land would bring, buyers have been so scarce. Nor did even reductions of 20 to 40 percent result in attracting customers and making sales. Owners were not offered fancy prices and they refused to sell. . . . We include in this list, property on Third Street, between Market and Mission, on Fourth Street between Market and Howard. . . . There is very little demand for residential property either vacant or improved. . . . The directors of our savings banks never had so difficult a task to perform as they had in 1879. It was next to impossible to loan out on mortgage all, or nearly all, the money on hand, and added to that was the difficulty of getting estimated values on such a dull real estate market (Langley 1880: 12-13).

The Great Census of 1880: Given the general state of business depression in San Francisco during the decade of the 1870's--so unlike the speculative optimism that marked the **approach** of the railroad--the 1880 census was seen as something quite out of the ordinary from the previous census. It was proposed that this national inventory would be of great use to business across the country and would be a scientific endeavor that would result in information never before available.

On a more modest scale, the 1880 census makes it possible to develop case studies (nearly 100 years later) of residents on specific sites in the Yerba Buena Center. A sample page of the 1880 census is attached to give the reader an idea of the range of information available. Each household was interviewed, with the street address noted and the respondents listed with information as follows: race (white, black, mulatto, Chinese, or Indian), sex, age, single, married, widowed/divorced, relationships (i.e., wife, step-son, boarder), profession, number of months of unemployment in the previous year, ability to read and write, months in school, disabling diseases, place of birth of each respondent, as well as the place of birth of their parents.

In analyzing the Yerba Buena Center site, it was decided to select 100 families from the 1880 census scattered throughout the site, and to

study more closely those families whose homes were located where there had been the lowest level of subsequent impact on any potential archaeological remains. Such impact was defined largely in terms of the subsequent basement structures and their depth on each site. Given the possibility (however unlooked for) that selection on the basis of subsequent excavation of basement sites might lead to some strange bias in the sample, another sample was taken of 100 families scattered throughout the site. This second sample included residents on streets from the blocks under study, but were selected randomly from the pages of the census. This second study was statistical in nature but turned up no surprises; that is to say, occupations and ethnic backgrounds remained in the same proportion in the same general locations as had been the case in the primary study sample.

Some comparisons between the Yerba Buena Center in 1860 and in 1880, based on the census analysis, are possible. First, it is important to understand the over-all shift in San Francisco population.

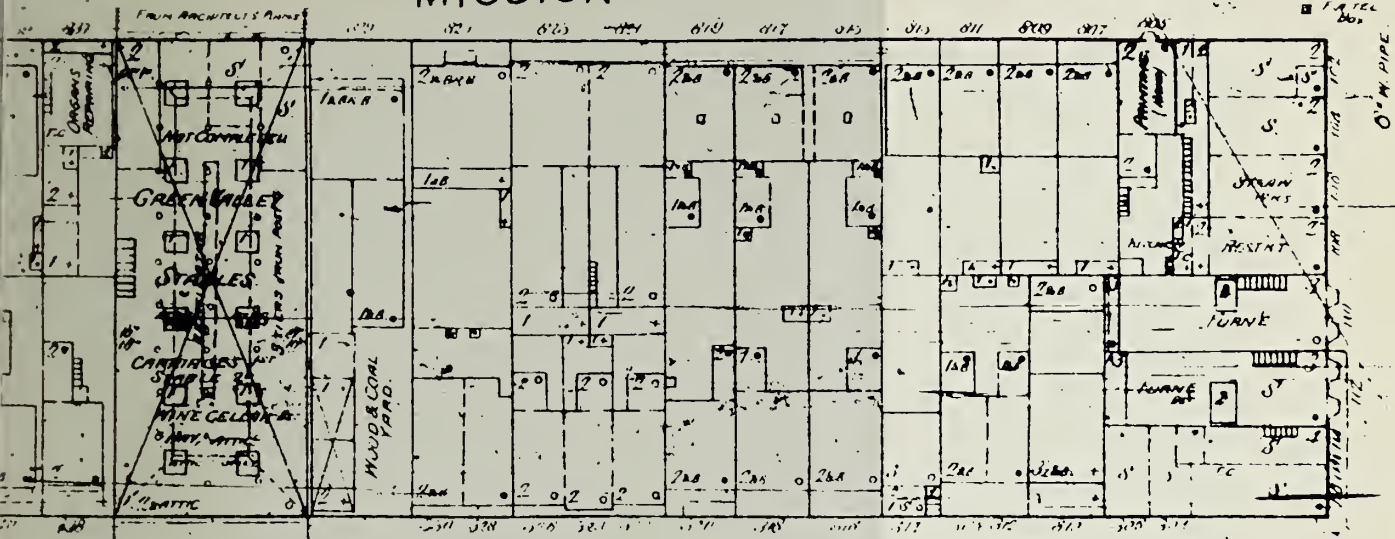
	<u>1860 Census</u>	<u>1880 Census</u>	<u>% Population Increase</u>
San Francisco Native Population	28,348	129,715	457%
San Francisco Foreign Population	28,454	104,244	366%
Number of Foreign-Born by Ethnic Background—as given by census			
English	2,412	7,748	321%
Irish	9,363	30,721	328%
Scot	639	2,243	350%
British-Amer.	694	8,860	1,276%
German	6,346	19,928	314%
French	2,203	4,160	188%
Chinese	2,719	21,213	780%
Black/Mulatto	1,176	not listed	
Other	6,777	9,371	138%

* Western Block 2

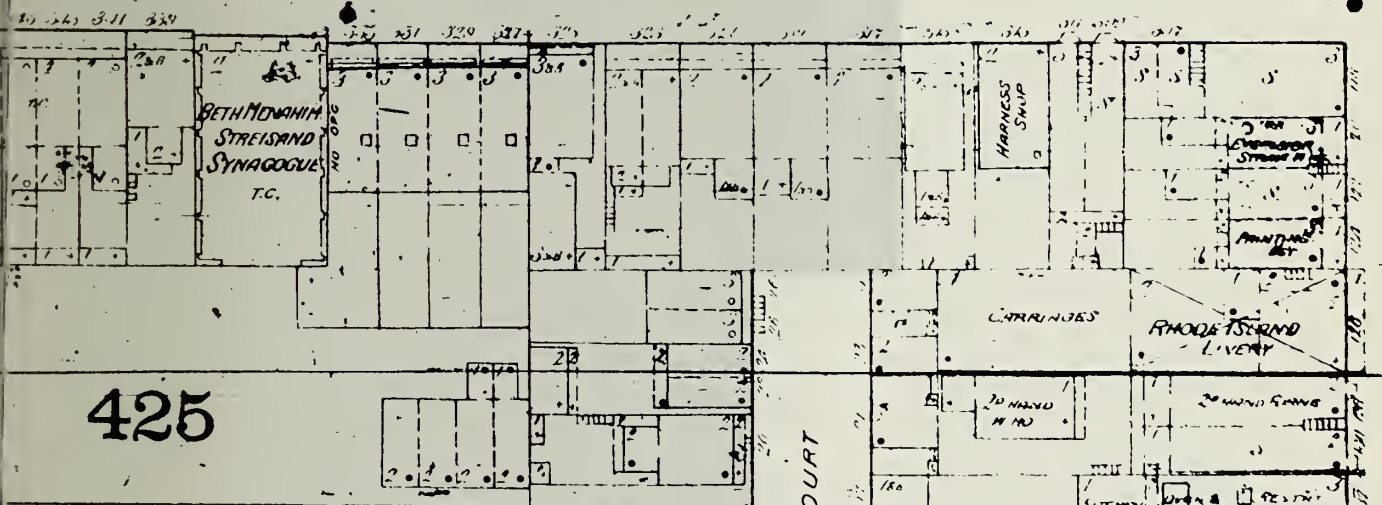
Sanborn Map Company - 1887

23

MISSION

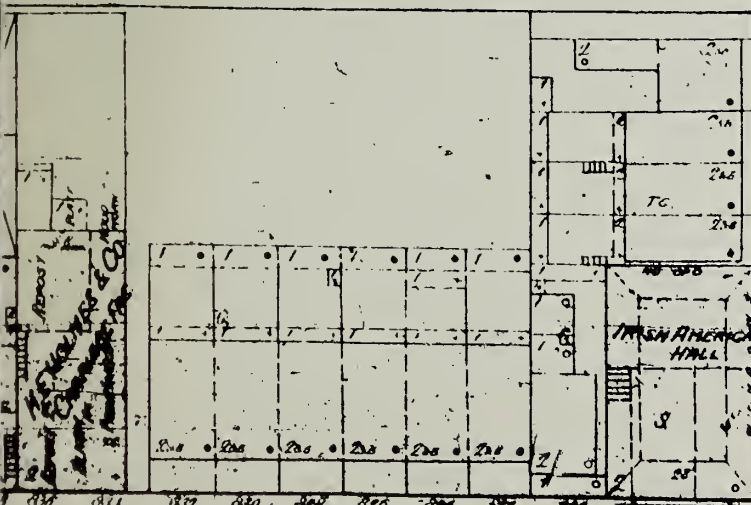


MINNA



425

NATOMA

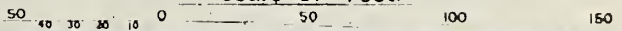


COURT
HOWARD

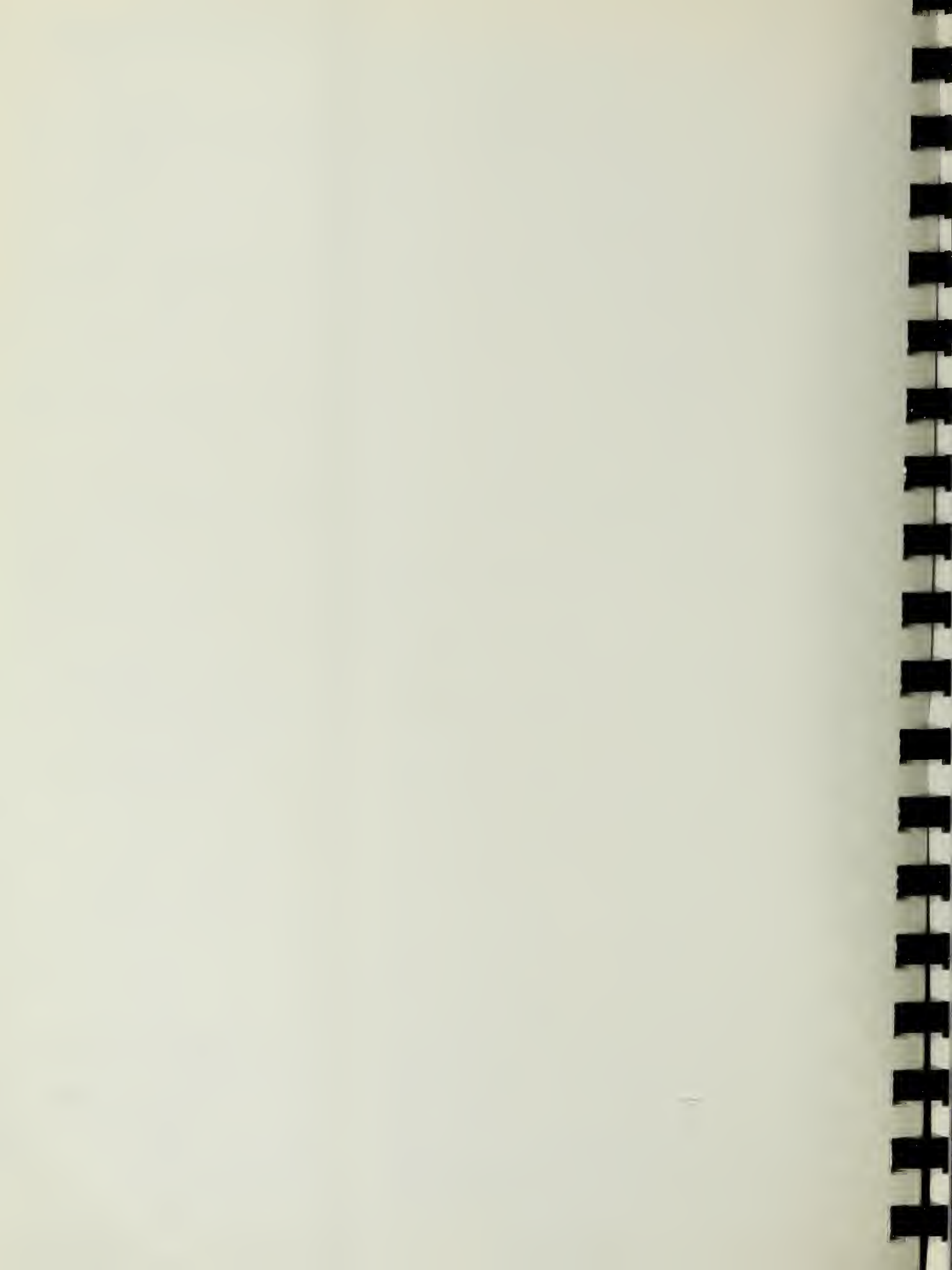
HOWARD

28B

Scale of Feet



4th



Given the general increase in foreign-born and native-born in this twenty-year period it is interesting to note that the American-born increased at a larger rate than did the foreign-born. Our analysis of the 1880 census makes that fact more understandable in light of the larger number of children born in the United States who would account for the larger total of native-born. There were sometimes as many as 6 to 8 children in immigrant Irish families, but by 1880 (unlike the 1860 Census) the immigrant parents were definitely older as a class, and their families included more older native California children. The earlier "native-born" figure represents (especially in the Yerba Buena Center) adult immigrants from New England, New York, and the East Coast. They were, along with the other immigrants, younger as a class, with smaller families--2 or 3 children being more common--whereas the immigrants of the 1880's were apt to be in their late 30's or 40's with children born in New York, and elsewhere, "along the way" to California. An additional change was that more children were in school and they were attending school at later ages.

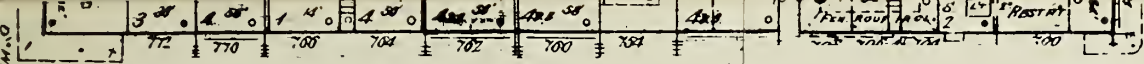
On the whole, there is only one figure that might have some special significance: the 780% increase in Chinese--a population that was largely male, working-class. The increase of 1276% in British-American immigrants (the group included Canadians) was partly the function of a small group increasing dramatically but still remaining a relatively small group. The Irish dominated the immigrant groups in size, and this was especially noticeable in the South of Market area, where the Irish and German working-class neighborhoods predominated.

Perhaps the most dramatic change in twenty years in the sample taken on the Yerba Buena Center was the increase in the number living in the same houses shown in the previous census. Even allowing for backyard additions and various informal housing arrangements, the numerical increase in residents per square foot was a matter that could be individually calculated. The new household residents were boarders rather than servants. Whereas the typical middle-class new arrival in

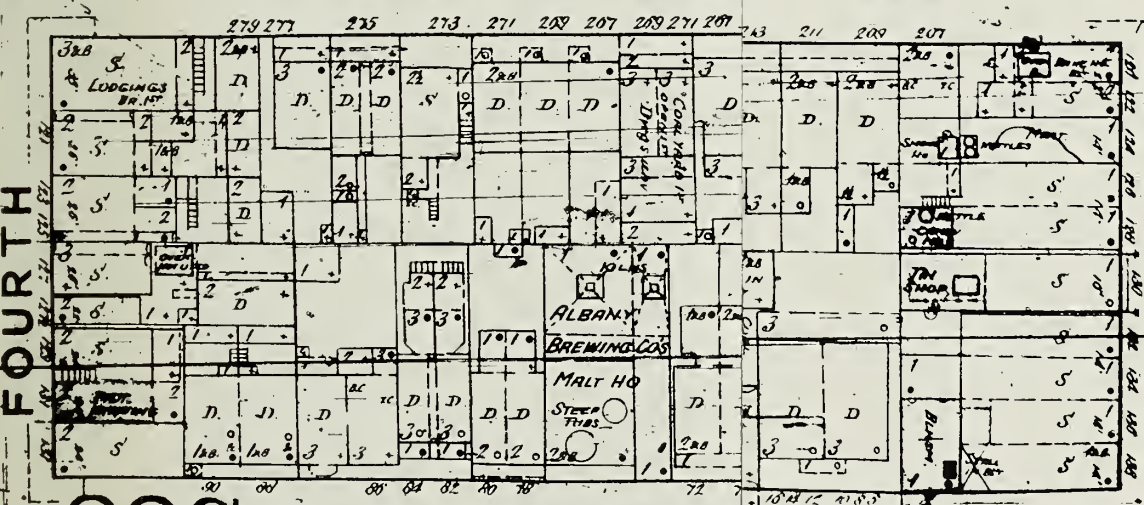
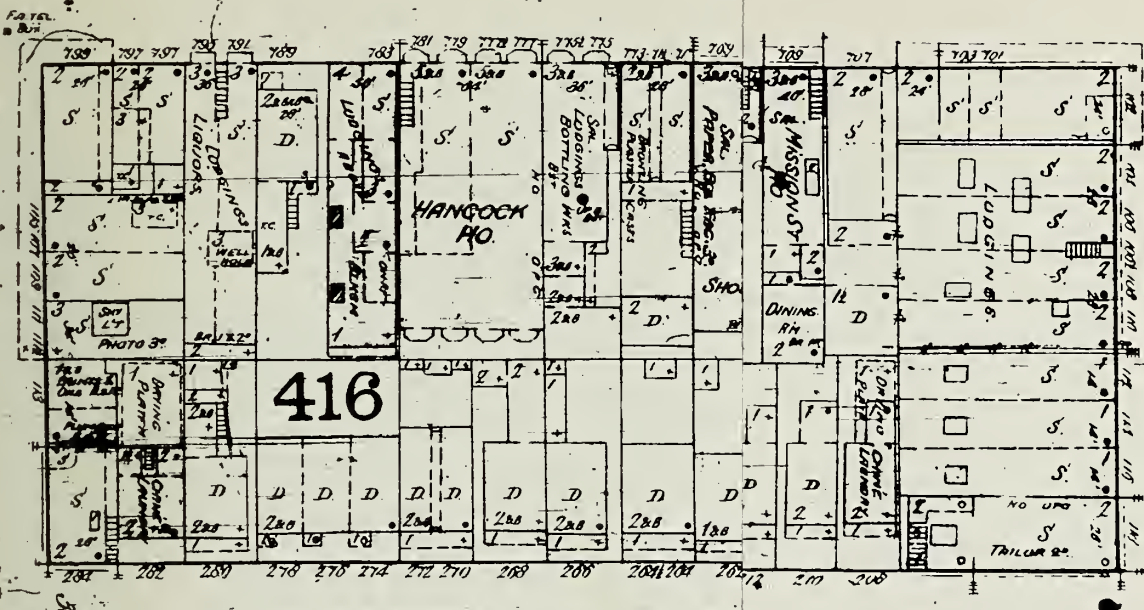
1860 might consist of a man and wife and two small children, with a nurse or servant, in a house built for a single family, that same house in 1880 might well contain a family of four with two additional roomers, perhaps with children, various aunts and brothers-in-law, or children with names totally different from the family name (indicating perhaps the adoption of neighborhood children with no family left to care for them). Servants were still employed in 1880--but usually when the lady running the house listed herself as "running a lodging house." Then there was apt to be a cook, and perhaps a cleaning servant as well. Just as in the 1860 Census, the Irish girls predominated as servants, but by 1880 many of them were born not in Ireland but in California of Irish parents. The German households still tended to hire girls who were born in Germany as servants.

Again the trend of German upward mobility through the ownership of their own businesses was more apparent--given the time for expression--than among other groups. In the Koster family, for example, the first immigration took place in 1857, and their beginning investments were in small breweries and grocery stores and saloons. Within one generation Ludwig Koster was listed as a "Capitalist" and had moved to Oakland. By 1930 his son was manager of a Savings and Loan Company on 22nd Avenue in San Francisco. The Koster family owned an import and export business with offices in the financial district, and the California Barrel Company was also one of their enterprises. The rise of the Spreckels Brothers is too well-known to repeat, but again this was a family grocery store parlayed into a South of Market brewery and then into the Bay Sugar Refinery and a Hawaiian sugar empire.

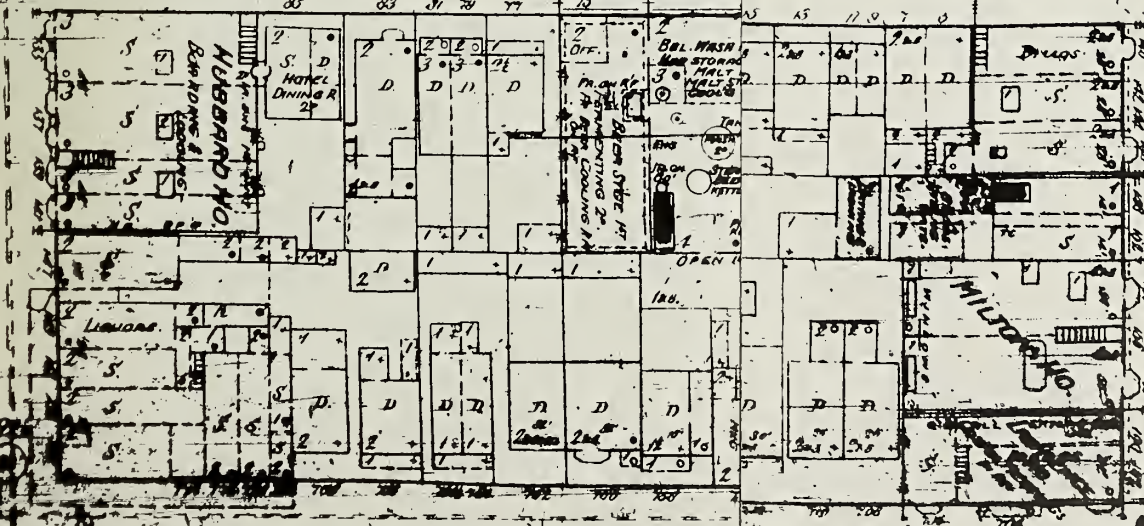
The private ownership of business, however small, appeared to be the economic basis for survival and for security in the whole Yerba Buena site. This factor is remarked on again and again in the case studies that follow.



pany - 1887



EVERETT ALBANY BREWERY STREET

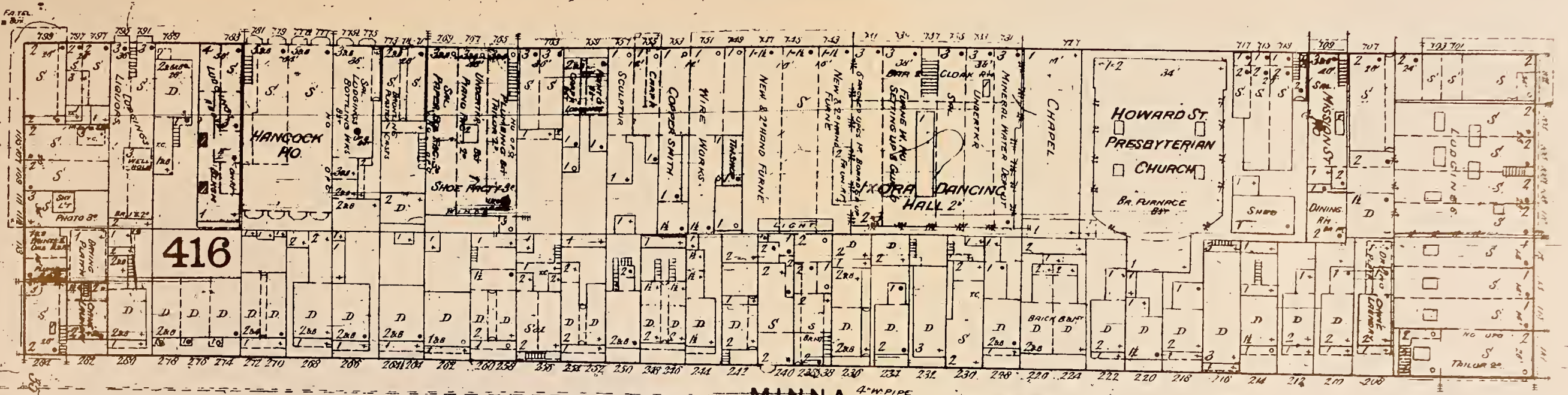


FOURTH

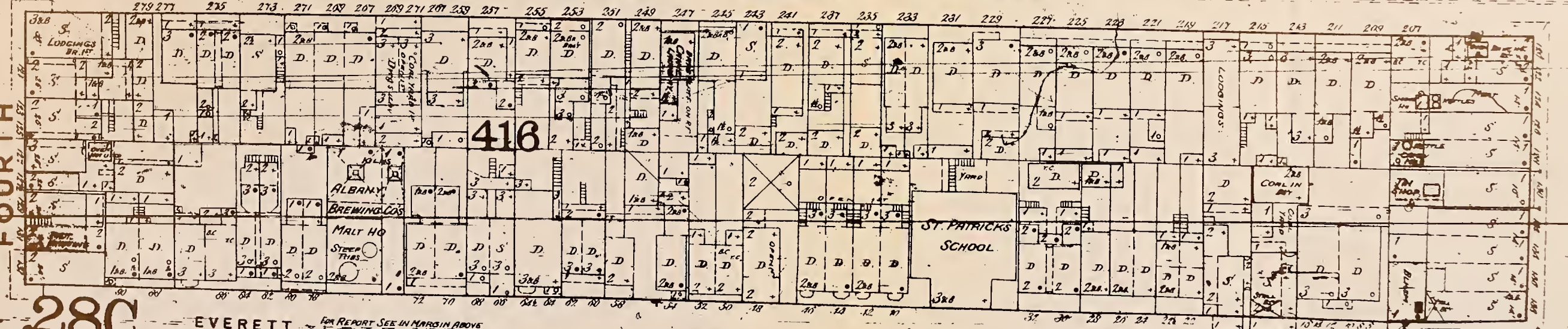
THIRD

MISSION

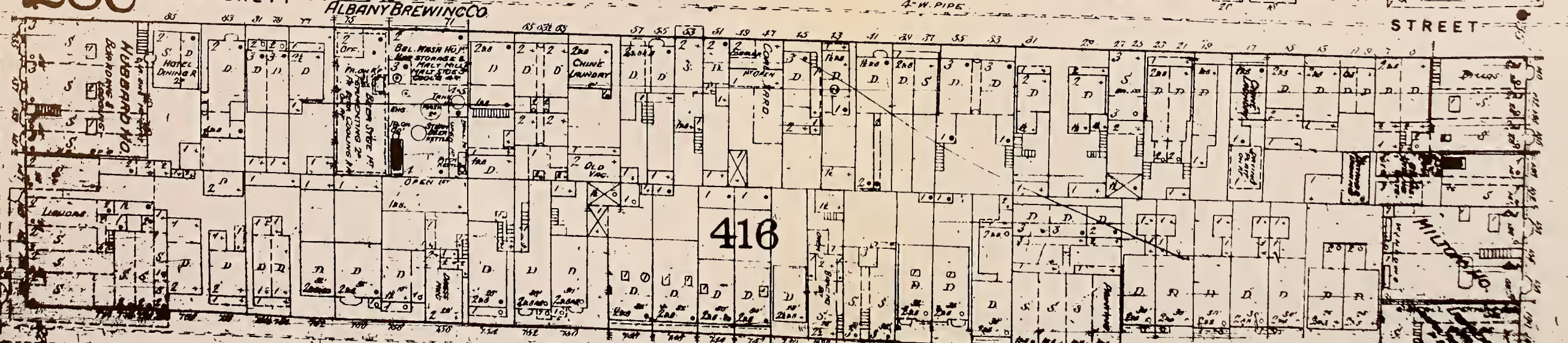
Sanborn Map Company - 1887



MINNA



FOR REPORT SEE IN MARGIN ABOVE
ALBANY BREWING CO.



24 HOWARD

FOURTH

THIRD

A Walk Down Fourth Street . . . the 1880's:

A frequent visitor down Fourth Street in my boyhood days was "Emperor Norton." Well can I remember him with his gaudy uniform, plug hat and cane accompanied by his dogs, Bummer and Lazarus, proudly strutting along, bowing to his subjects and dropping into stores hither and yon to levy a tax-- a dime, a quarter, or a half from the proprietor (Brady April 1940: 15).

Although Fourth Street in the 1880's was neither as important commercially as Third Street, nor as crowded with people, it did have its own character, one which typified much of the Yerba Buena Center. Despite this, the Sanborn maps of 1887 show that the entire street, from Harrison up to Market, was lined with shops, lodging houses, and several hotels. Most of the buildings were two or three stories tall, many were of frame construction, few had basements. After the earthquake of 1906, Fourth Street was rebuilt with buildings which were similar in height and use to those which occupied it prior to the earthquake, while Third Street generally was developed with larger buildings, many of which had basements. As a result, while much of Third Street is impacted by large, post-1906 basements, particularly in the blocks from Market to Folsom, there remain many potential archaeological sites along Fourth Street, especially between Howard and Harrison streets.

The first two blocks of Fourth Street, between Market and Howard, are mostly covered by large, post-earthquake basements or modern structures, such as the Mission Street garage, as the basement survey maps show. Therefore archival research in the 1880 census focuses on the southern three blocks--excluding also the Convention Center Block and Eastern Block 3, which have already been covered (Olmsted, Olmsted and Pastron 1979). A number of potential archaeological sites dating back from the 1880's and earlier remain on these blocks--Western Block 3, Western Block 4, and Central Block 4.

As the 1887 Sanborn Map indicates, Western Block 4 remained untouched by basement construction. Two sites of particular interest exist here: the **Central Pacific Hotel** site, located between Clara and

Harrison, and the former **North Beach** and **Mission Railway** facilities, especially a lodging house at 316 Fourth which housed some of the employees of that horsecar line. Across Fourth Street, as the basement maps show, many potential sites exist on Central Block 4; along Fourth Street itself, two will be analyzed here, at 337 and 339 Fourth Street.

On Western Block 3, the construction of housing projects over the past ten years, as well as the presence of several older structures having basements, reduces the number of potential sites considerably. There are also further areas that will probably remain undisturbed as open space, such as the Clementina Gardens, and the Woolf House Gardens. Three sites remain, located on the block between Clementina and Folsom streets. Two of these, lie placed next to each other at 319 and 321 Clementina, under some vegetable gardens at the time of this report, on a lot slated for housing. The other, at 808 Folsom, is a vacant lot.

Two Families on Clementina Street: Most of the residents of Western Block 3 did not live along Fourth Street, but resided instead along the two narrow back streets, Clementina and Tehama. In other blocks of the Yerba Buena Center, particularly Eastern Blocks 1, 2, and 3, the alleys were crowded with the poorest residents, yet on Western Block 3, a slightly different situation existed, and the two families described on Clementina Street typify the area. While not to be considered middle class, these families were nonetheless not on the brink of poverty. Both of these families lived where there now are the vegetable gardens opposite the modern Clementina Towers, the **Kennedy** family at 319 Clementina, and the **Curran, O'Brien, and Trodden** families at 321 Clementina. Both houses were approximately the same size, two stories tall, without basements and each containing about 1,400 square feet of space. Both structures appear to have dated from the 1860's, as both the Kennedy and O'Brien families were living at their respective addresses in the 1869 directory. Of course, the houses may have been older than that, but neither house appears on the 1859 Coast Survey map, the entire block at that time having been occupied by vegetable gardens.

The Kennedy family occupied their house for some time, longer than was usual amongst South of Market residents. **Hugh Kennedy**, a



Plate 42: The Philadelphia Bar on Fourth Street . . . This rare view of a workingman's saloon was made in the very early 1890's, possibly on the occasion of Henry Temp's new proprietorship—his gold leaf sign appears to be the brightest. Just about every brewery in the Yerba Buena site competed for advertising space: to the left, John Wieland's Lager Beer, from the Second and Folsom Street establishment; to the right, the Albany Brewery promoted cream ale, from their Natoma address. The "half and half" was on draught served with a San Francisco free lunch. (Calif. Hist. Soc.)



horseshoer, was listed in the 1869 directory at this address, and his daughter Ellen owned the house in 1894, as the **Handy Block Book** informs us. The Kennedy family emigrated from Ireland before 1865 and did not tarry for very long on the East Coast, as many Irish families did, since all of the children of Hugh and his wife Abba, were born in California. The family was the product of a late marriage, not uncommon for the Irish, since the first child, Nellie, who in 1880 was 15, was born when her mother was 37 and her father 35, and the last child, Margaret, age 7, was born when her mother was 45. Because of this, Hugh supported the family alone, without any help from elder sons, an atypical arrangement for a family business such as this one. Plate 43 shows a typical turn-of-the-century horseshoe shop in San Francisco. Hugh's income, which must have been sufficient not only to set up his own horseshoe shop but also to buy his own house, was augmented only through the rent from three roomers, all of whom were also of Irish descent. Further evidence of Hugh's prosperity is the fact that his children, all four of them, were still in school, even Maggie, who was at the age when many Irish girls were starting work as servants.

Hugh Kennedy was definitely rising in his South of Market world, despite the fact that neither he nor his wife could read or write, and he suffered from asthma, his wife from rheumatism. In 1869, Hugh worked for Patrick Brannan at 33 Webb Street as an assistant horseshoer. A decade later, after Brannan had moved out to 821 Geary Street, Hugh had taken over the Webb Street operation, and by 1886 he had moved out to 4 Spring Street. By owning his own shop, he was removed from the anxiety of losing his employment, and the business of horseshoeing was at least partially removed from the impact of depression. His business could grow with his family, with room to include his son John F. Kennedy by 1886, once John had graduated from high school. Illiteracy among Irish male immigrants was uncommon, as shown by the census. The enumerator for the western and southern blocks of the YBC was conscientious in checking this category on his schedules.

Next door to the Kennedy family lived one less well off, but equally interesting as an example of a family adapting to circumstances. At first glance, the census appears to reveal three families and three lodgers,

all occupying a small, two-story house, but closer inspection reveals that there was one main family group, the Curran-O'Brien's, a family of lodgers, and three unrelated single lodgers. **Mary Curran** appears to have been the head of the house: a widow, she gave her occupation as "lodgings house keeper," referring evidently to this address. But her family was not supported on these revenues alone, for in contrast to the Kennedy family, where only one man supported his entire family, all but one of the Curran-O'Briens worked. Mary's daughter Nellie was a saleslady with Philip Kennedy, her son John was a carpenter, her brother John O'Brien was a grocer at 106 Fourth, with Fitzpatrick and O'Brien groceries; her nephew Timothy, age 20, was a clerk with the McCarthy brothers, and he later worked in a rolling mill belonging to the same firm. Only Anna O'Brien, Mary's niece, had no occupation other than going to school.


With all of these people earning their keep and the income from six lodgers as well, the Currans might appear to have been fairly well off financially. A carpenter, such as John, might make as much as \$3-\$4 a day, a clerk such as Timothy, perhaps \$2, and a saleslady such as Nellie fifty cents to \$2 a day (MacGregor 1875: 62). And on top of that would be the income, probably about \$3 a day but possibly more, from John's grocery store, and finally the income from lodgers. But this income, a theoretical total of over \$200 a month, was not the family's actual income. John, the carpenter, who would have brought in the most money, was unemployed for six months during the past census year, and Timothy, who would have been the family's other large source of income, had been employed for only four out of the past twelve months. And on top of that, one can not be sure that John O'Brien's income from the grocery store amounted to much. There were so many small grocery stores South of Market that an acceptable net profit must have approached (and sometimes sunk beneath) the price of day labor. Most of the small corner-grocery businesses ran weekly tabs for South of Market families who tried to pay up every Friday night after payday. When general business slowed down and breadwinners were laid off--everybody lost money (Gleeson April 1926: 6).

The crowded conditions of the house, with twelve people, all but one of them adult, living in only 1,400 square feet of space (or only 110




Plate 43: The Practical Horse Shoer . . . For small boys the horse shoer's shop must have had all the fascination of the modern garage—a man's world in which strength and special knowledge counted. This view was not South of Market, but is representative of the trade. (Author's Collection) Paul Friedhofer was both a "Practical and Pathological Horse Shoer" on Clementina Street—and his ad must be read to be appreciated. (Langley's, 1879)

PAUL FRIEDHOFER
 No. 263 Clementina St., near Fourth
PRACTICAL AND PATHOLOGICAL HORSE SHOER,
 IN ALL ITS VARIOUS BRANCHES.



Hoof Evils, such as Toe and Quarter Cracks. Uneven Growth of Wall Contraction. Thrush. Quitters and Lameness arising from neglect of care or improper shoeing, treated with radical success.




Charges Moderate, and in accordance with quality of work done.

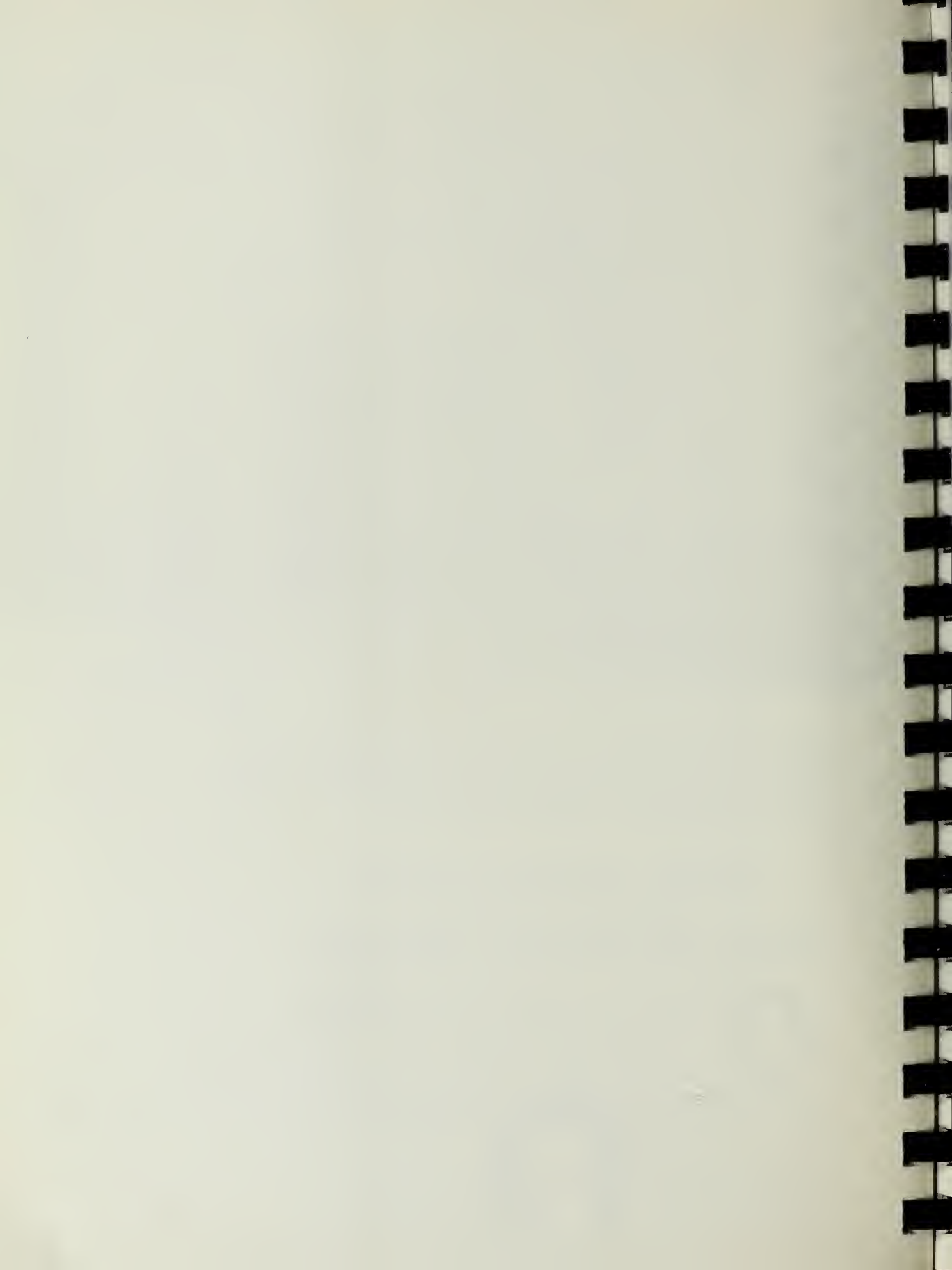
Sensible Paring of the Hoofs

Interfering, Overworking, Speedy Cutting, Knocking at the Knee Joints, Hitching, etc., promptly checked, through scientific treatment of the affected parts.

According to natural structure of skeleton parts, and **Symmetrical Shoeing** to size and work of the horse, from the finest saddle pony up to the heaviest American draft horse.

I also teach, if desired, an unwritten chain of the Practical Knowledge of preventing Malformations, as well as the treating of them with success, as far as is practicable, on horses of considerable value, where the necessary careful shoeing will permit.





square feet of space per person) suggested a lack of economic resources, rather than a monthly surplus.

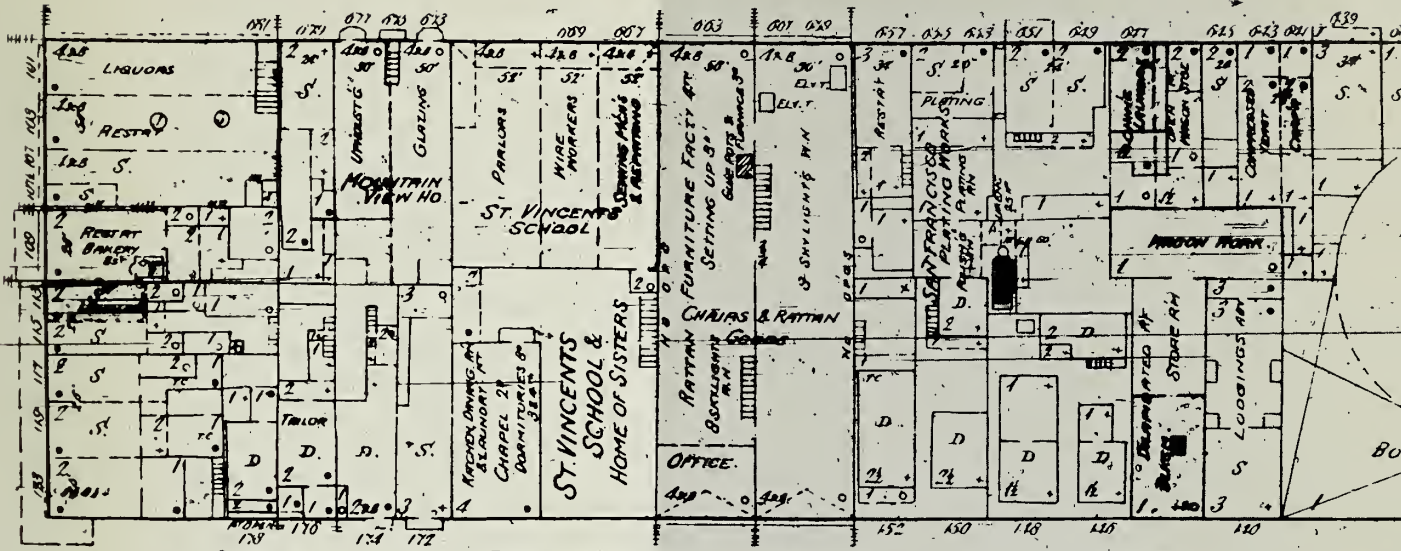
In contrasting the O'Brien-Curran family and the Kennedy family, we see that the main difference between them (and the main difference in the South of Market between security and poverty) was the presence in the Kennedy household of a skilled, male breadwinner, who owned his own semi-industrial enterprise. Security did not come from employment at skilled laborer's wages, as in the case of the carpenter, John Curran, as his unemployment figure of six months demonstrated. Nor did it come from the marginally profitable, unskilled labor generated by a grocery store such as John O'Brien's--unless he were more successful than many of his competitors. Modest security largely came through the combination of self-employment, as found with John O'Brien, and a skilled trade, such as John Curran's, which would always be in demand. In contrast to this, most of the people in the South of Market lacked such skills. This observation seems confirmed by repeated analysis of South of Market families in the course of this research. It is almost always the case that those people who owned and operated specialized businesses (however small), such as the Kennedy horseshoe shop, the Stitt carriage-making operation, or (on EB-3) the Phipps harness-making shop, enjoyed economic security, became landowners (often landlords), and were upwardly mobile.

No doubt all kinds of exceptions can be found to this generality. Out of the dense working-class population of the South of Market in 1880, many of the heads of households at the time of the census must have "made good" in more than this modest fashion before, or after, moving on. But of course these, too, were not the only families who were upwardly mobile. Many of the children of laborers or clerks in 1880 later went on to become lawyers, managers of firms, or businessmen. But in so doing, they left the South of Market forever, moving out to the Western Addition and later to the avenues of the Richmond District. Among the long-term, first-generation residents of the Yerba Buena Center who remained South of Market residents, the most successful were those who owned and operated their own skilled enterprise.

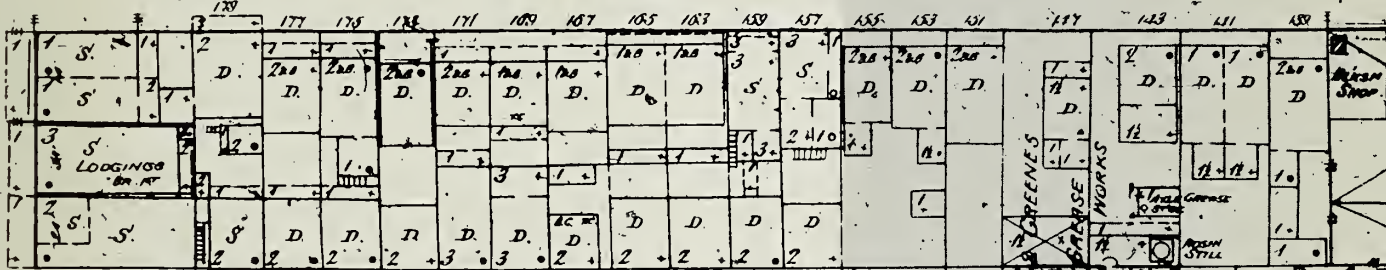
Two Businesses on the East Side of Fourth Street: Of the shops along the eastern side of Fourth Street between Folsom and Harrison streets, two in particular are of interest on their own merits and as having archaeological potential. These two are the **Shyne Butcher Shop** at 339 Fourth Street, and the **Lynch Water Service** at 337 Fourth Street. These two establishments were both located in individual buildings housing their owners: hence they are among the relatively few such businesses which can be traced in the 1880 census and related to the immediate site in question. The two businesses were located at the corner of Fourth and Clara streets, and due to a quirk in Clara Street's width, the Lynch Water Service extended into what would have been the street had its width been uniform. Both buildings were two stories tall, neither had a basement, and the site appears to have remained unchanged by excavation since their establishment on it. At the time of this report, it lies vacant. The 1887 Sanborn Map (CB-4) shows these buildings to have been small and irregularly shaped; it is difficult to determine the exact boundary between the Lynch establishment and the Chinese laundry right behind it, since both occupied the same, standard-sized 20 x 80-foot lot. The Lynches had only 20 x 27 feet within which to live and run their businesses. The Shynes had the full extent of their lot, but it was filled by their main structure, 20 x 50 feet, and two small one-story outbuildings which probably held the accessories of the butcher's trade. Perhaps, given the space they needed for hanging and cutting carcasses, they were even more crowded than the Lynch family.

The Lynch family practiced a trade that has disappeared with the advent of modern plumbing facilities, which in 1880 had not yet penetrated throughout the South of Market area. The delivery of potable water was a necessity of the times, and this common commodity was in short supply in the South of Market, amidst the unsanitary, cramped and dusty back streets. It commanded a high enough price for people like the Lynch family to profit from its scarcity, and many an old-timer in the 'twenties and 'thirties recalled the nuisance and expense of having to make do with water from a horse-drawn cart. Roxburgh recalled:

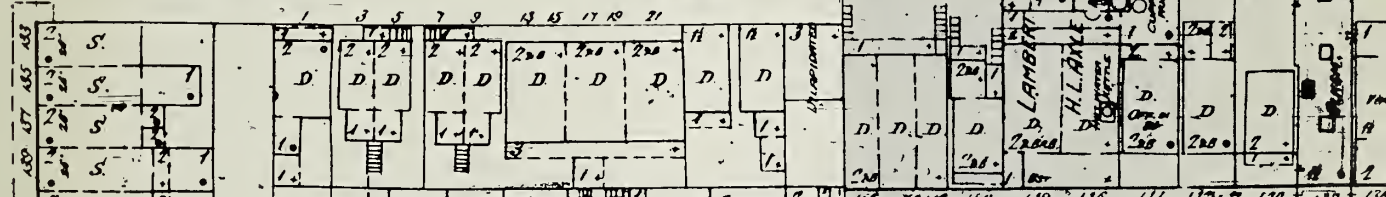
MISSION



Minna STREET

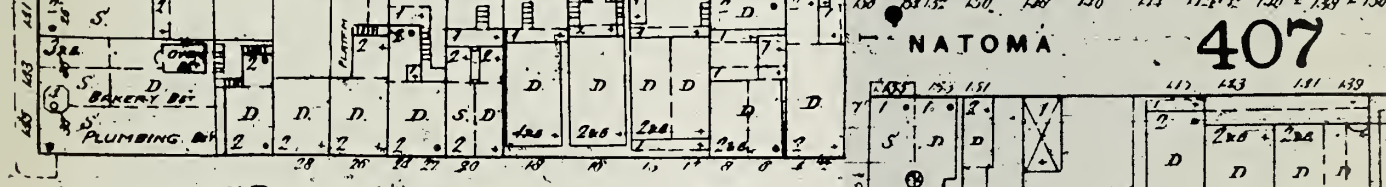


SHERWOOD PLACE



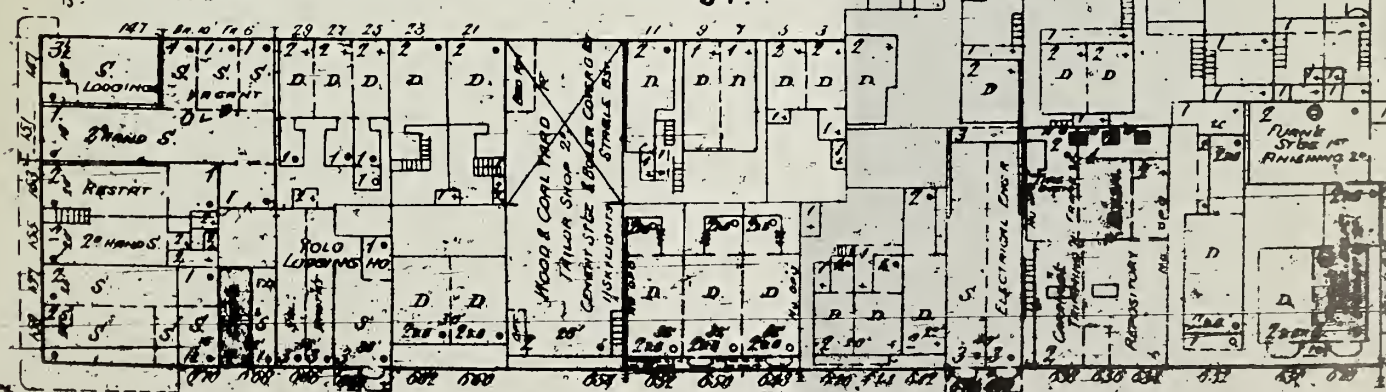
NATOMA

407



HUNT ST.

HUNT ST.



HOWARD

Scale of Feet.



THIRD

20

In the old days before the Spring Valley Water Co. extended its pipe lines South of Market, the residents of the district depended upon the water cart for its household requirements. One of these institutions was owned by Joe Fairfield and his establishment consisted of a large barrel or pipe mounted on two wheels and drawn by a horse. The minimum amount Joe would sell was twenty-five gallons, which was measured out in five gallon containers and then poured into the purchaser's barrel. Old Tim Tierney had three children and lived at 24 Folsom Avenue, where he had a well which supplied his neighbors. In those days, mother bathed us on Saturday night in the family wash tub and when we were a little prosperous, a tin bath tub was purchased which was hung outside of the kitchen door to the envy of the neighbors. Well, it took a large amount of water to keep us youngsters clean which, I believe, was responsible for Tom Tierney's well going dry. With this advent, Joe Fairfield got a new customer, but the twenty gallons he supplied were far from sufficient to bathe us all and leave a surplus for wash day, Monday. We had a lot of fun, however, toting water from the cemetery at Seventh and Market down to the house and it was necessary to make several trips to fill the barrel (Roxburgh November 1926: 14).

However much a problem the lack of water pipes was, the need for home water delivery by cart did not go away for a long time, and Peter Lynch is listed in the 1869, the 1879, and the 1880 directories as a waterman at 337 Fourth Street. He was born in Ireland, as was his wife, Jane, and in 1880 he was 53. Most probably he was the same Peter Lynch who was listed in the 1859 directory as a laborer residing on Clara between Ritch and Fourth. Peter had three children: Lawrence, age 21; James, age 20; and Thomas, who was 18. The family of five lived in little more than 1000 square feet, and that included the ground floor, which was probably used for business purposes. All three sons worked to help support the family: Lawrence as a clerk in a store, James as a butcher at James Lintott and Bros., and Thomas as a salesman with D. Samuels. No unemployment statistics were given for any members of the family, and we therefore can only roughly guess that they were more prosperous than many families in the South of Market, since they had no small children to support and apparently held steady jobs.

But despite the relative security of their position in 1880, the times changed, and the demand for water service evaporated once the pipes of

the Spring Valley Water Company reached everywhere South of Market. What had been at least a marginally profitable enterprise disappeared overnight, just as, in a less sudden manner, the entire horseshoeing, harness-making, and hosteling business was to decline rapidly in the face of the automobile thirty years later. By 1895, the family appeared to have taken a new direction. Some of them continued to reside at 337 Fourth, even though (perhaps because) Peter was by that time nearing 70. Now, instead of a waterman, Peter was a real estate salesman, Lawrence ran a liquor saloon at 350 Brannan, and James J. was moving up in the world; eventually he would become assistant clerk to the Board of Supervisors. Thomas was superintendent of J. J. O'Brien & Co., and still living at 337 Fourth Street. In fact, Thomas continued to live at 337 Fourth right up to the time of the earthquake, as the 1905 directory indicated. Eventually, though, the family was to disperse in the wake of the earthquake and fire; a solitary Jane Lynch, widow, is listed at 29 Wilder Street in 1910, the others living elsewhere in the city.

Another durable family was the Shyne family, living next door at 339 Fourth Street. **James Shyne**, age 40 in 1880, practiced his trade at the same address from the 1860's through the late 1890's, long enough to leave a lasting memory in the minds of many Fourth Street residents. Roxburgh recalls:

Crossing Folsom, and going down the east side (of Fourth), we meet Dooley and Boyland, saloon, Fourth and Louisa; then came S. G. Williams, junk dealer; several doors below was the butcher shop of J. G. Shyne, where Gus Pratt used to put the **corn** into the **corned beef** during the week. You ought to see Gus when he was a kid with the butcher basket on his arm delivering corned beef and a big head of cabbage for the Shyne's best customers (Roxburgh Jan. 1928: 11).

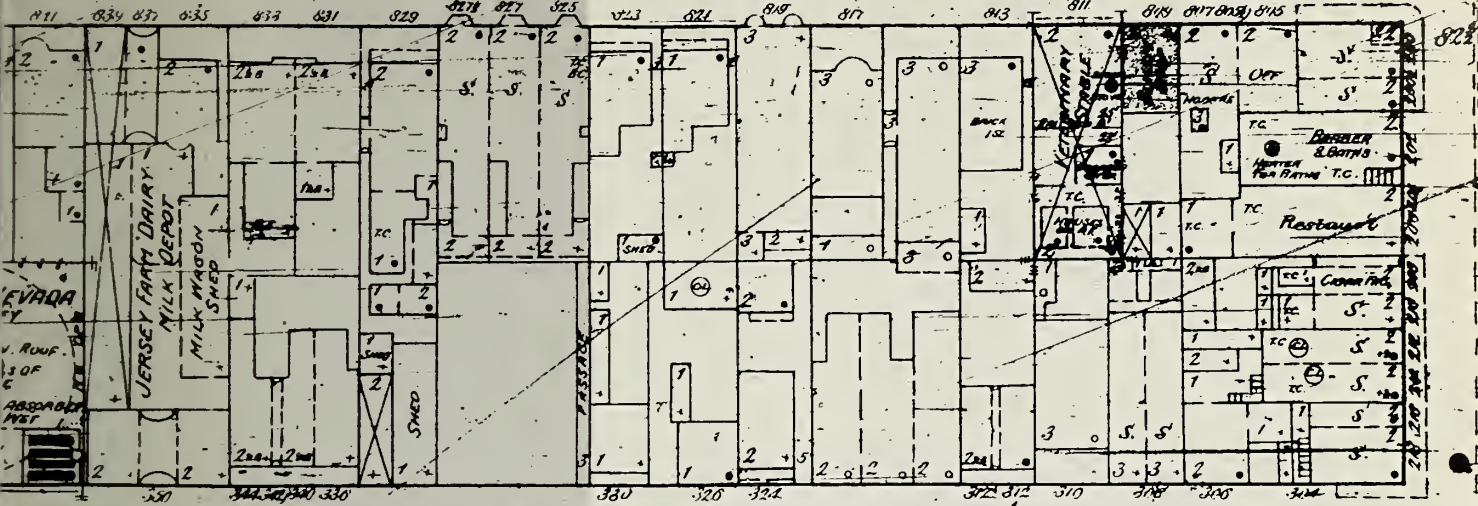
That the Shynes were well-known and well-liked in the neighborhood, another South of Market veteran remembered:

Opposite the school on Clara Street was the so-called "Stone Lot" so called because of a lot of broken curb stones strewn around the place. This was the arena for games, one o' cat, numbers, also fights, but best of all the outdoor meals on Saturdays. Early on that day the gang, with crab nets made of barrel iron hoops, and "hay ropes," with a big piece of "cat" meat generously donated by Shyne, the Fourth Street butcher, hiked to Long Wharf at the end of Fourth St. where

STREET

280

HOWARD

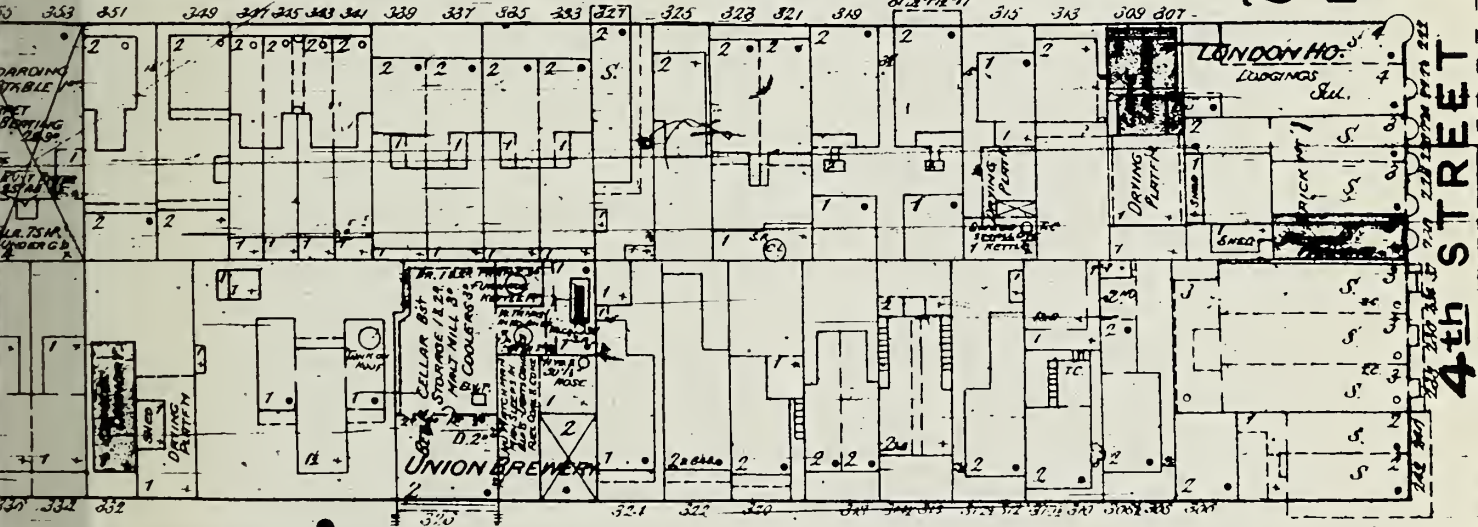


STREET

426

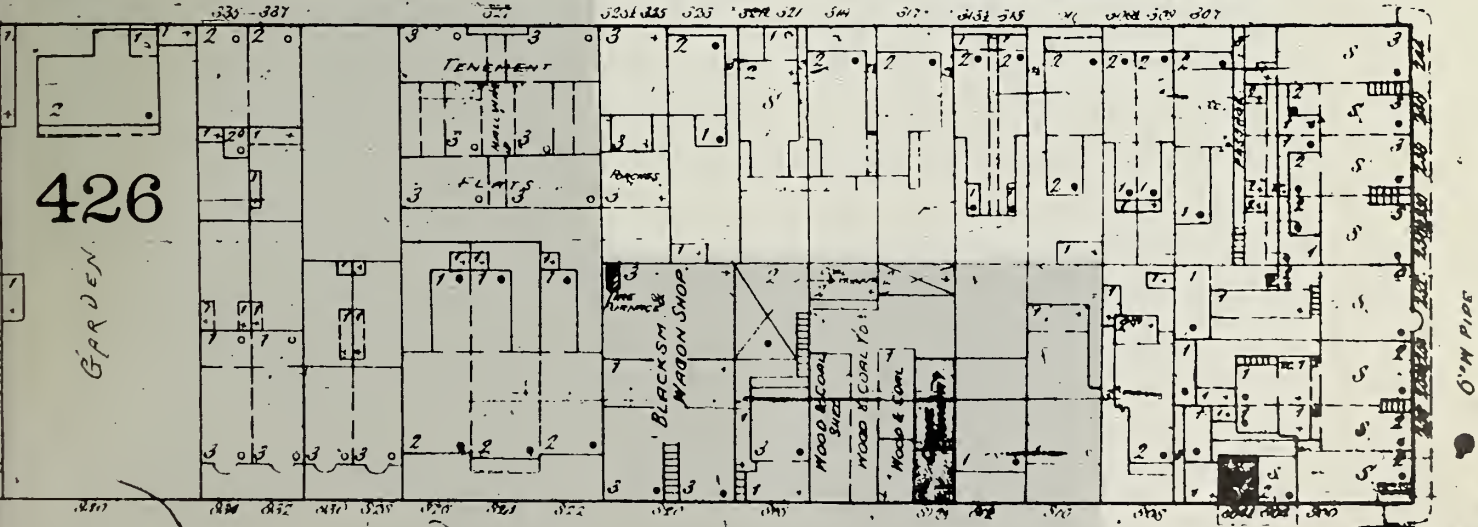
Tehema

24



STREET

Glementina



Scale of Feet.

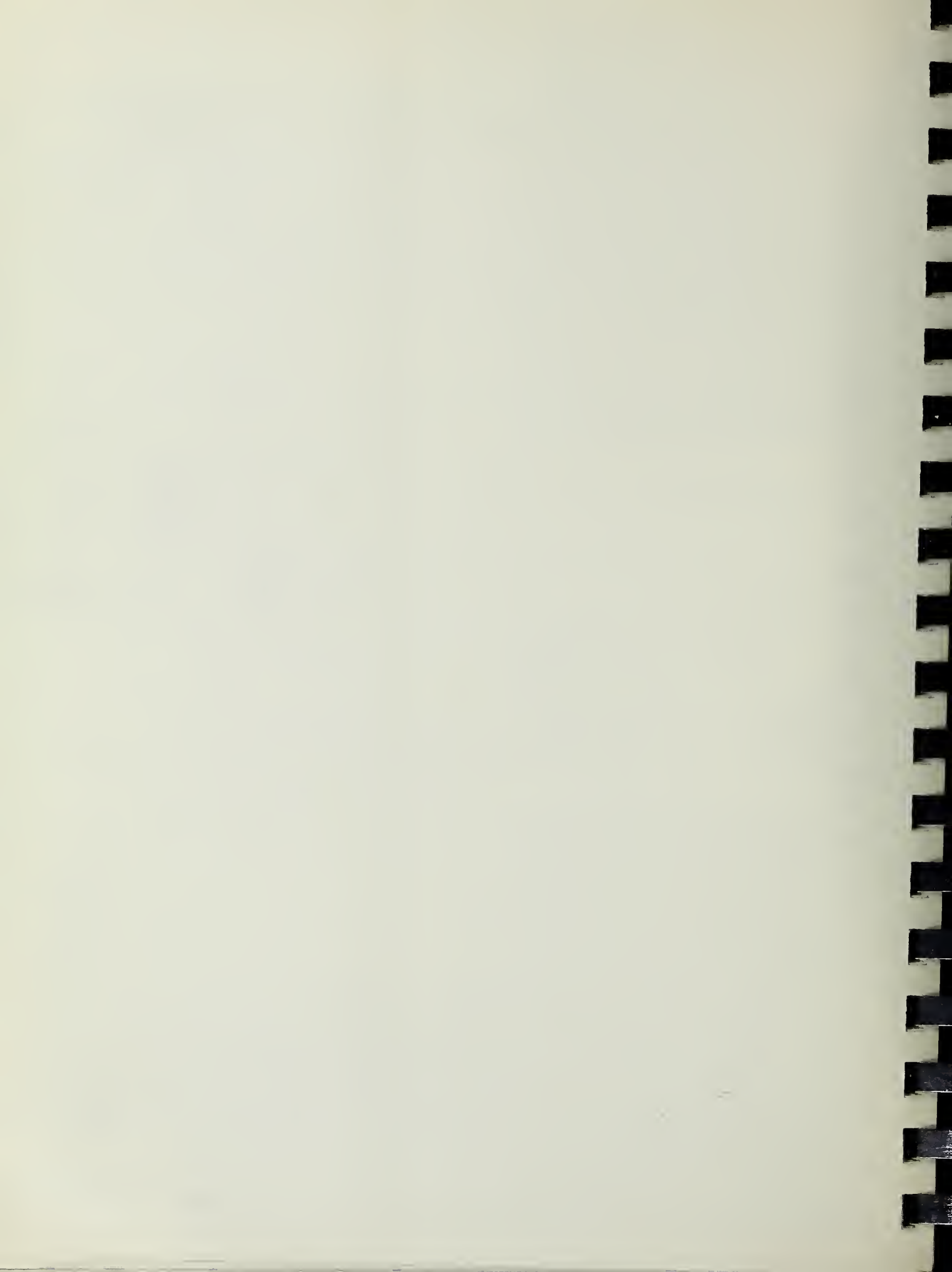
STREET

FOLSOM

4th STREET

WOOD & COAL

6



a fine mess of succulent crabs was soon netted. Then back to the Stone Lot, a fire started under a discarded oil can into which the crabs were dumped and boiled (Brady April 1940: 10).

In 1880, there were four Shynes living at 339 Fourth Street. As well as James G., age 40, the butcher, there was also his wife, Anne, age forty-six, and the two children, James, Junior, age 15, and Josie, age 12, both at school, both born in California. The elder Shynes were Irish immigrants. By 1886, James, Junior, was also helping out in the butcher shop, with the August Pratt so fondly remembered by Roxburgh. Gus Pratt stayed with the Shynes from his first apprenticeship in the '70's until around 1890, living, as well as with the Shyne's, at the Central Pacific hotel, which appeared to be his most permanent residence. Eventually Pratt, age 22 in 1880 and born in California in 1858 of his English and Irish parents, was to set up his own butcher shop at 487 Haight street. In the meanwhile, before that listing in 1905, he had worked as a silver reducer at the U.S. Mint at Fifth and Mission streets in the late 1890's. From Roxburgh's phrasing of his recollection, it appeared that Gus remained a well-known South of Market figure and was possibly still alive in 1928 when Roxburgh wrote his article.

A Walk Down the West Side of Fourth Street in Western Block 4: The third of the block of Fourth Street between Clara and Harrison, today covered by two warehouses on slab foundations, was from 1887 to the earthquake occupied by one building, the **Central Pacific Hotel**. Today, hotels in the South of Market are largely inhabited by the poor, the old, or the unemployed, but in 1887 there were many reputable boarding houses along Third and Fourth streets which catered to the white-collar and skilled working classes. People who did not have families and had no need for a house of their own, or who preferred not to have a private dwelling, found boarding houses and hotels an acceptable alternative, and as a result, most of the people who lived along the main arterials such as Third and Fourth streets lived over shops or in rooming houses or hotels of one sort or another. Such boarding houses varied in size and nature. Many were just rooming houses, others offered full board. The

size of the establishments also varied, from converted houses which took in 8 or 10 lodgers, to large structures especially built as boarding houses, which lodged and fed 50 people or more. The Pacific Hotel is a representative example of this latter group.

The Central Pacific Hotel occupied the entire portion of the YBC on Western Block 4 between Clara and Harrison streets, its lot extending back as far as the western boundary of the YBC on that sub-block (Sanborn Map CB-4). The hotel occupied 9,600 square feet of land, and was of frame construction, three stories tall, without a basement, giving it a total floor space of almost 29,000 square feet. In the 1880 census a total of 42 people lived in the hotel as permanent residents together with some transient guests. All but two of the lodgers were adult males, mainly Irish. Since shops and probably the dining, kitchen, and living quarters for the help occupied the first floor, there were 19,200 square feet of space for the 27 lodgers and guests, two servants and their families, and the Farrell family who managed the hotel.

The residents of the hotel were mostly Irish--roughly half were born in Ireland, and the remaining two thirds were of Irish descent. A few lodgers came from New England and England, with only one person from Germany, despite the large number of Germans living in the immediate vicinity. It may have been that the Irish tenants themselves were clannish and the managers--the Farrells, who were born in Ireland--simply preferred their own kind. But the particular nature of the tenants did not stop at their Irish background, for all of them, except for one woman with mountain fever, were single men, with the only women or children living in the hotel being the wives and children of the manager and the servants. Unlike hotels in the South of Market today, however, a wide range of ages existed amongst the boarders, from a 15-year-old blacksmith, to a 63-year-old laborer. Most of the ages fall within the 25- to 35-year range, but this was common throughout the South of Market at this time, and was merely emphasized in a hotel composed of single men who had not yet married.

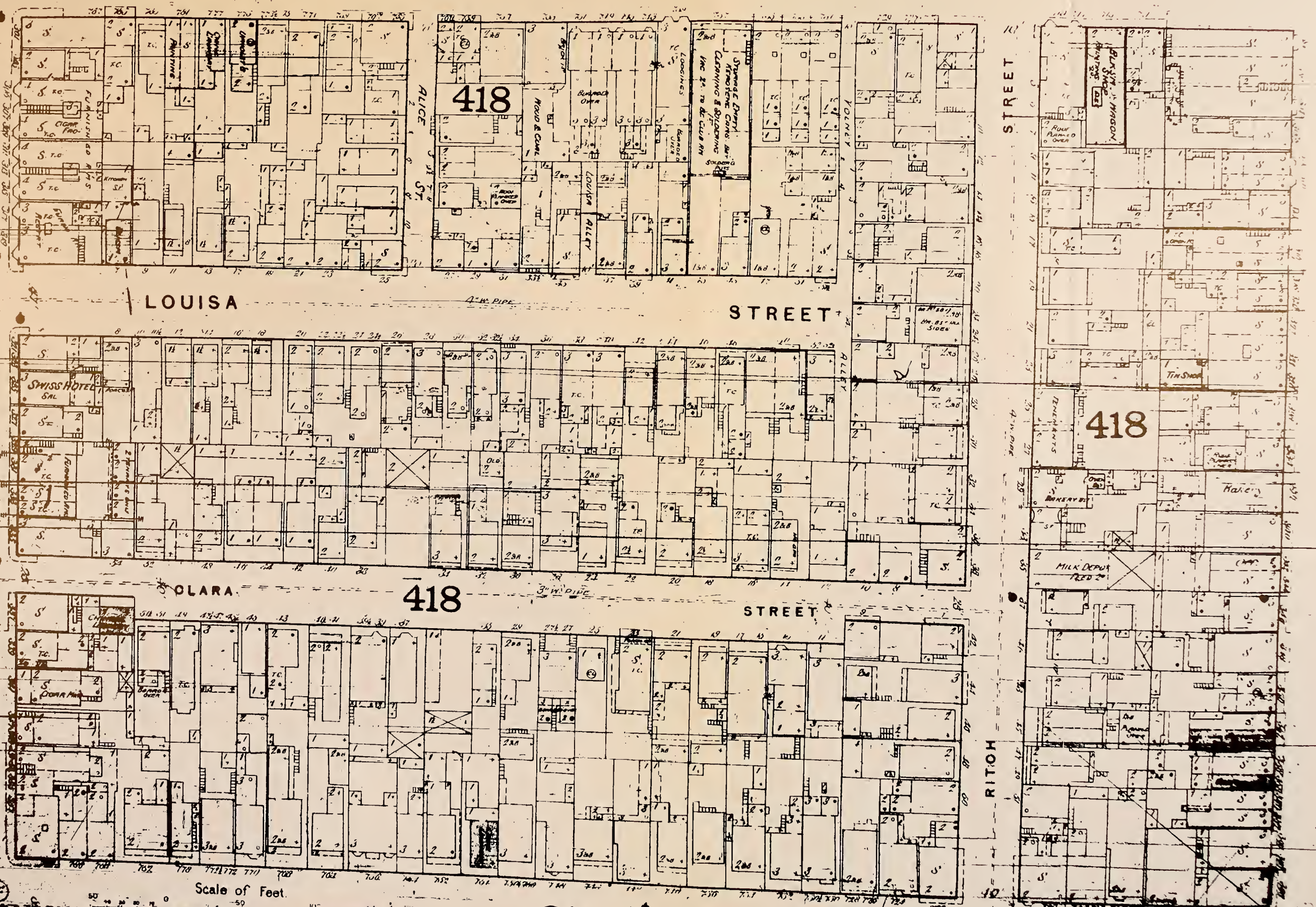
In terms of occupation, most of the men were employed in industrial or manual work, with 10 out of 26 listing their occupations as laborer.

28B

*Central Block 4

Sanborn Map Company - 1887

FOLSOM



LOUISA

STREET

CLARA

STREET

FOURTH

Scale of Feet

25 HARRISON

STREET

418

THIRD

RITCH

The others included a newspaper reporter, three clerks, a blacksmith, a teamster, a carpenter, a bookbinder, and a gardener. All but one were listed as literate. The lodgers at the Central Pacific Hotel appear to have been particularly hard hit by the depression of the late 1870's that was afflicting the South of Market at the time, for 17 of the 27 had been unemployed at one time or another over the past year, from as little as one month to as many as 12, with the average number of months of unemployment being slightly over 7.4. This concentration of unemployment at one address was unusual for the South of Market as seen in the 1880 census, but is rendered less surprising when we remember that many of the residents in the Central Pacific Hotel were unskilled or semiskilled laborers.

Despite the unimpressive economic status of its inhabitants, the Central Pacific Hotel was recalled as a South of Market institution. In the **South of Market Journal** (April, 1940) Brady described it:

In front of the "Sand Lot" was the Central Pacific, then one of the leading South of Market hotels. It was run by Michael Farrell and his son John. Three stories in height, on the site between Clara and Harrison on the west side of Fourth Street, it was always crowded to capacity. Three times a day the hotel stage--one of the regulation Wells-Fargo Co. type--would meet the ferry and river boats on the waterfront, load up with a varied consignment of hotel guests and then go tearing along the streets in true Western style, coming to stop at the hotel with much shouting from the stage occupants.

It was the delight of the kids of the neighborhood to wait for the coach and watch for its human cargo to be discharged. Then at noon and supper hour we'd await the appearance of a waiter who would come out on the sidewalk vigorously beating on a big brass gong announcing meal time. Then came the grand scramble for the dining room. The "eating room" was on the sidewalk floor and so we kids had a full view of the hungry guests as they scurried to the tables and delved for food. There were no "menus" or bills of fare. A couple of large soup tureens filled to capacity were placed on each table, with heaping platters of meats, vegetables, bread, fruit and pastry--and then every man for himself and his appetite. What a contrast to the cocktail lounges and knick-knack food emporiums of today! (Brady April 1940: 11).

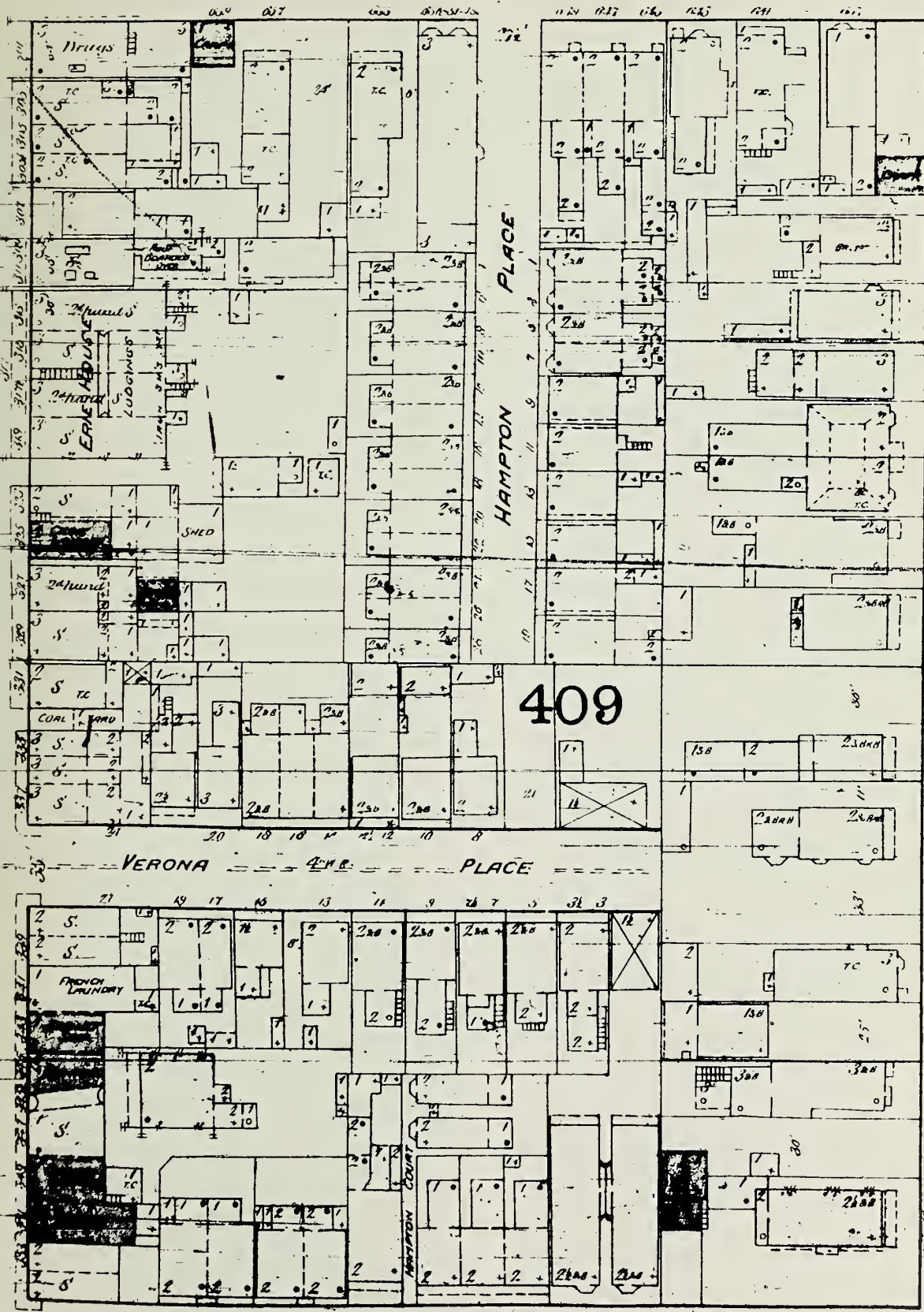
Brady confirmed the presence of the hotel dining room on the first floor of the building, and presumably also the lobby and kitchen were

also located there. But such facilities did not occupy all of the first floor; instead most of it was occupied by a number of small shops, shops which appeared in the 1880 census along with the owners who lived in them. Starting at Clara Street and Fourth, we find **Johanes Hanson's** coffee stand. Johanes, a Danish immigrant, lived there with his wife, Julia, and his five children. He was 36, his wife 32, and his children ranged in age from seven to two, giving his wife an average of almost one infant per year over a five-year period. Next, at 342 Fourth, lived a woman with a varied past which might have shocked some respectable Victorian ladies, but who at this time was running a confectionary shop. **Mary Wilson** was a widow, age 38, with one daughter, Ida, age 11; she had been born in England, her daughter in New Jersey. But she had come to California much earlier, for she appears first in the 1859 directory as a widow living on Bush street; and in the 1860 census as the proprietor of a candy store on Third, the same occupation she was listed as practising 20 years later. Between 1860 and 1880, however, she gave birth to her daughter--without apparently being married, since she was always listed as Mary A. Wilson, widow--and was for a time one of the few women in San Francisco to operate a saloon, on the south side of Pacific near Front, down next to the waterfront and the Barbary Coast. By 1886 she was living simply as M. A. Wilson, at 272 Tehama, rear, with her daughter, Ida, also listed in the directory, even though Ida was only 16 years old. Given the comparative anonymity of women in the directories of the period, it is surprising to find a listing for a young girl with no stated employment.

Mary Wilson's candy store and the adjacent coffee stand occupied the northern third of the ground floor of the Central Pacific Hotel; the central third of the ground floor was devoted to the services of the hotel proper, and in the 1887 Sanborn Map was listed as 346 to 350 Fourth Street. It is here that young Brady and his friends salivated over the comparatively sumptuous dishes being served within, and the main staircase shown in the middle of the structure on the 1887 map possibly divided the dining room from the lobby area, with kitchen facilities out in back--perhaps in the small one- and two-story additions shown directly behind the main building.

FOLSOM

THIRD



STREET

HAWTHORNE

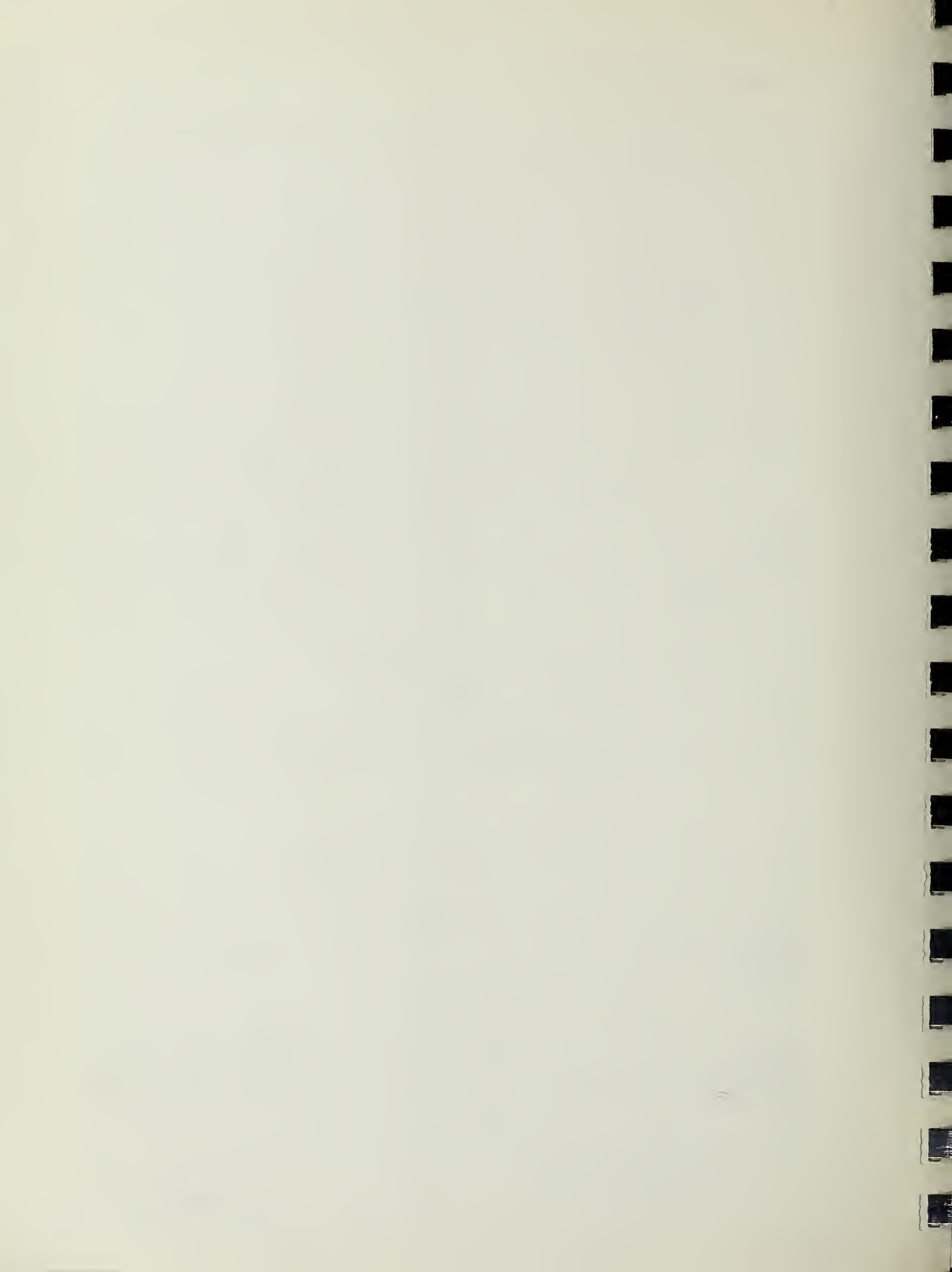
HARRISON

STREET

15

13

74



Beyond the dining room lay four more shops, all of them also used as residences by their proprietors. At 354 Fourth **Johann Goldsmith**, a 45-year-old immigrant from Westphalia, ran one of the many Fourth Street shoe stores. A recollection in the **South of Market Journal** in the 1920's took up the subject of shoe stores:

4th St. was not so prolific in the number of stores located thereon, but those that flourished there were among the most noted of their period and carried more pretentious stocks than the average shoe dealer. First and foremost standing out in our memory was that located in the old Pioneer building, 20 4th St., and run by the then famous John F. Sullivan, who we are pleased to note is an enthusiastic member of the South of Market Boys', Inc., today.

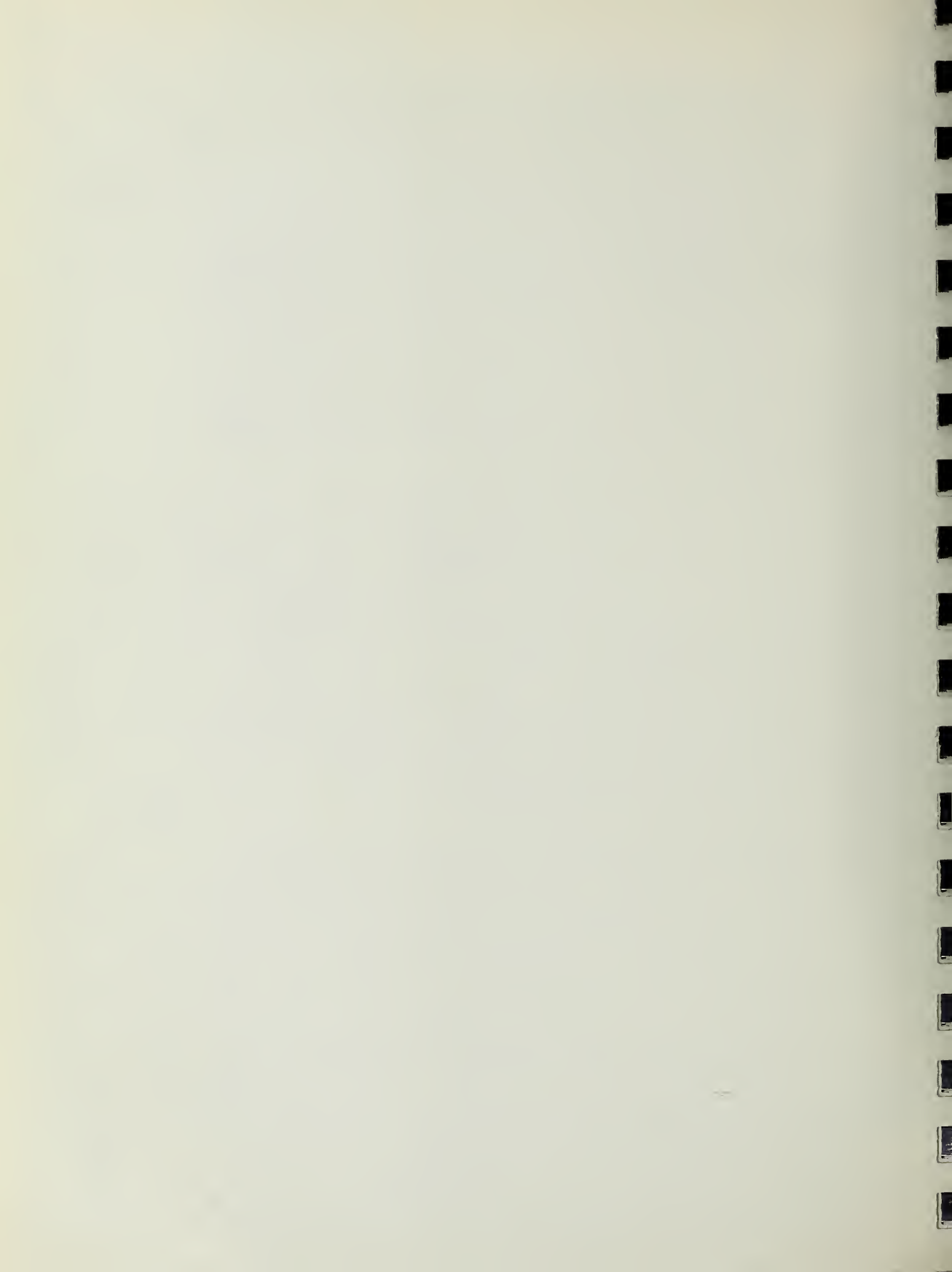
At 255 there was located one by the name of Ole Svendsen and his store was a great rendezvous for many of his countrymen. Philip Rogers was the name of the party that ran the store located at 376 4th St. Can only remember one being located in the four hundred block and that was the one presided over by John S. Wallace. He was located at 457 4th St. (Roxburgh 1923: 14).

Johann Goldsmith was a recent immigrant from Germany, for not only were he and his 28-year-old wife, Anne, born in Westphalia, but also his 12-year-old daughter, Bertha. At 356 Fourth, complementing the Goldsmith shoe store, was **Simon Israel's** clothing store. Simon, age 44, had also immigrated from Germany (Prussia), along with his wife, Henrietta, who was 29-years-old. Their two children, however, Pauline, five, and Max, one, were born in California. Finally, Pauline Kirschaum, the sister-in-law of Simon, stayed at home with the family. She, too, was born in Prussia. It is of interest with regard to the Israels that Henrietta could neither read nor write, and Pauline, while able to read, could not write either.

Two more shops completed the Central Pacific Hotel ensemble: **Mark Levy's** barbershop, and **Louis Lamsgroce's** drugstore. Levy was a 30-year-old Prussian immigrant; his wife Amelia, 23, was born in Chicago, but of Prussian parentage; and both children--Hattie, three, and Abe, one--were born in California. Finally, Louis Lamsgroce, a 55-year-old Belgian immigrant, ran a drugstore; in the 1879 directory he was listed as a "chemist" living at 865 Harrison street.

Virtually all of the lodgers living on the second floor of the hotel were either Irish, English, or from New England, there wasn't a single German among them, except for one doubtful fellow who came from the Alsace. Almost all of the businessmen living on the first floor came from Central Europe. Four families came from Germany, one from Denmark, and only Mary Wilson hailed from England. In other words, two ethnically distinct groups of people lived in the same building, but whether through design or coincidence, on different floors. A general observation along this line can be made about the South of Market as a whole, namely, the division of trades amongst ethnic groups. It was no coincidence that the Irish at the Central Pacific Hotel tended to be laborers and teamsters, for this was largely their role throughout the South of Market. Likewise, that the Germans managed the shops in the hotel comes as no surprise, for this was characteristic throughout the South of Market. When we examine the particular types of shops in the hotel--a shoe store, a clothing store, a drugstore--we find a pattern which exists throughout the Yerba Buena Center. With the exception of about half of the grocery stores--which also usually sold liquor by the drink, and had their steady Irish "regulars"--most of the retail businesses were operated by Germans. The situation that existed in the Central Pacific Hotel, with the shops of the Germans on the first floor and the Irish laborers crowded into the second floor, was something of a microcosm of the entire South of Market around 1880. Even though the Irish outnumbered the Germans slightly, the Germans definitely had the economic edge, of which the Frank family on Central Block 2 was just one example.

Poverty on Louisa Alley and Middle-Class Comfort on Harrison: Central Block 4 had the distinction of having some of the narrowest alleys in the Yerba Buena Center. The Sanborn Map for CB-4 in 1887 shows Volney Alley (running south from Folsom past the end of Louisa) to have been only 10 feet wide. It was renamed Elizabeth Place after the 1906 earthquake. Alice Street ran south from Folsom into Louisa, and it was 20 feet wide. Louisa Alley was only 10 feet wide and 80 feet deep.



Through the years the names of the streets were changed: Clary, of 1859, became Clara by 1880; Louisa of 1887 became Shipley by 1912; Ritch Street, of 1859, remained Ritch Street through the passage of time.

On Louisa Alley, in 1880, there were 13 people living at #37 and #37½. In two small buildings were the families of two Irish laborers and one German tailor and his household. The three families lived in the two-story main house (20 x 20 feet), and a tiny two-story outbuilding (10 x 20), that opened out onto the alleyway. In 1887 both buildings had basements, although it appears that no other structures having basements were built on this site after the demolition of the 1887 houses. Neither small structure appears on the 1859 Coast Survey Map--so we can assume that the houses were built sometime during the 1860's or early 1870's.

Henry Wolfe occupied one floor of the main house, along with his wife, Anna, and **Harry Schmidt**, who would have been a boarder with the Wolfe family. Since Schmidt was a steward on a steamer he would have been on Louisa Alley only between trips. All three were Prussian immigrants. Henry was 48 and his wife was 49 at the time of the census. Henry Wolfe was one of the many German tailors who lived on Central Block 4, a block with an unusually high proportion of Germans engaged in the clothing business, either as tailors or clothing dealers, or in more specialized lines such as hatting and shoemaking. On the Yerba Buena blocks to the north there were not only fewer Germans and more Irish, but the German workers tended to be in the food business, either as grocers, bakers, or brewers.

Although the Wolfe family and the Dunn family (at 37½ Louisa Alley) were not far from Harrison Street with its sprinkling of middle-class families (whose live-ins were servants rather than boarders), these two German and Irish immigrant families were typical of the working class who lived in the back streets and alleys of the Yerba Buena Center.

Timothy Dunn and his family occupied the second floor of the Wolfe family house, which was numbered 37½ by the census enumerator. Timothy was 52, and his wife, Mary, was 40; both were Irish immigrants. Timothy had probably been a laborer all of his life, for he was listed as such in the city directory of San Francisco as early as 1861, when he

lived at #2 Rasset Place. Although we have no unemployment figures for the Dunns, they were not working at jobs that were noted for their stability. They had five children, four sons and a daughter. The two eldest sons, William and James, worked, as did their daughter, Mary.

The occupations of the Dunns were a short summary of the occupations of the Irish community around them: Timothy was a day-laborer, Mary a dressmaker, William a plumber, and James a molder in iron works. Given some luck, and some good economic times, the Dunns might have gotten by fairly well; certainly they were better off than many Irish families, since Timothy had sons who could bring in much more income than daughters. For women working to support themselves solely by their own efforts, employment conditions in San Francisco in the 1880's offered little hope beyond the barest subsistence. Mary Dunn could count on her family to support her above what she made as a dressmaker--about a dollar a day, depending on her skill and whether she did piecework or was an apprentice dressmaker. There was another dressmaker living with the Dunn family, **Katie Colbert**. At only 18, Katie had emigrated from Ireland, perhaps by herself. Her economic position, unless she were to marry, was quite poor. As Hittell described the situation of working women in San Francisco at that time:

It is stated, by one of the proprietors of the factory, that Chinese workmen learn the business and become skilled operators in 6 to 8 moths, while sewing-girls require from one to two years in order to become experts. . . Mr. Beamish, who does a large trade in the shirt business, states that sewing-women are constantly applying to him to work, even at \$1 a day, and that he would be only too glad to give them employment at a much higher rate of wages, if only they understood the business (Hittell 1882: 111-112).

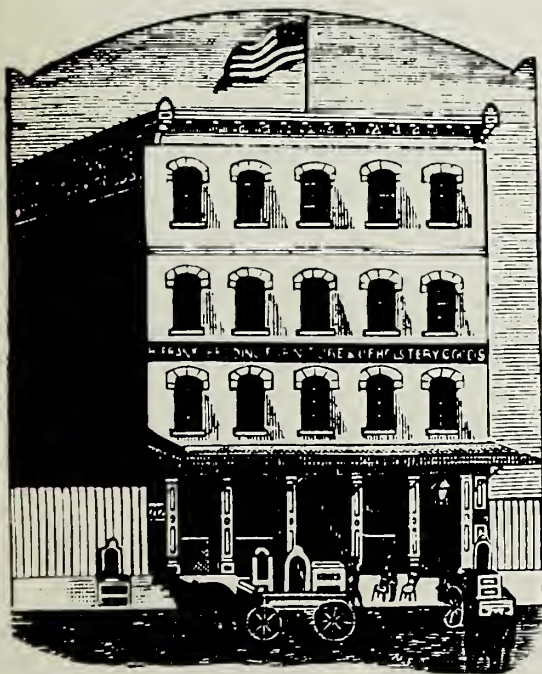
If a girl like Katie, discouraged by the Chinese competition, found employment in a trade or shop reserved to white operatives, or tried to work her way up in a trade, she would find conditions only a little better:

Women who work at wages in industrial employment in California, do not get more than half so much as men in similar jobs, and are excluded from most departments of labor in which pay is the highest, and the chances for advancement best (Hittell 1882: 104).

Elsewhere in **Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast** Hittell quoted a manufacturer's advice to women seeking employment: "Marry!"



Plate 44: Working Girls of the 1890's . . . The naked light bulbs and the muslin sheeted windows created a sweatshop reality for these women who were lucky enough to find work in a "modern" sewing factory. Whether it was corsets or mattress covers we cannot be certain, but their choices were limited. (Author's collection). They may have been working for a successful bedding manufacturer like H. W. Frank, whose ad appeared in Langleys in 1886. Frank was a long-time Yerba Buena Center area resident, who worked his way up in the world, as is discussed in Chapter XVIII.



Established in 1854.

H.W. FRANK & CO.

Wholesale and Retail Manufacturers and Dealers in

Bedding, FURNITURE

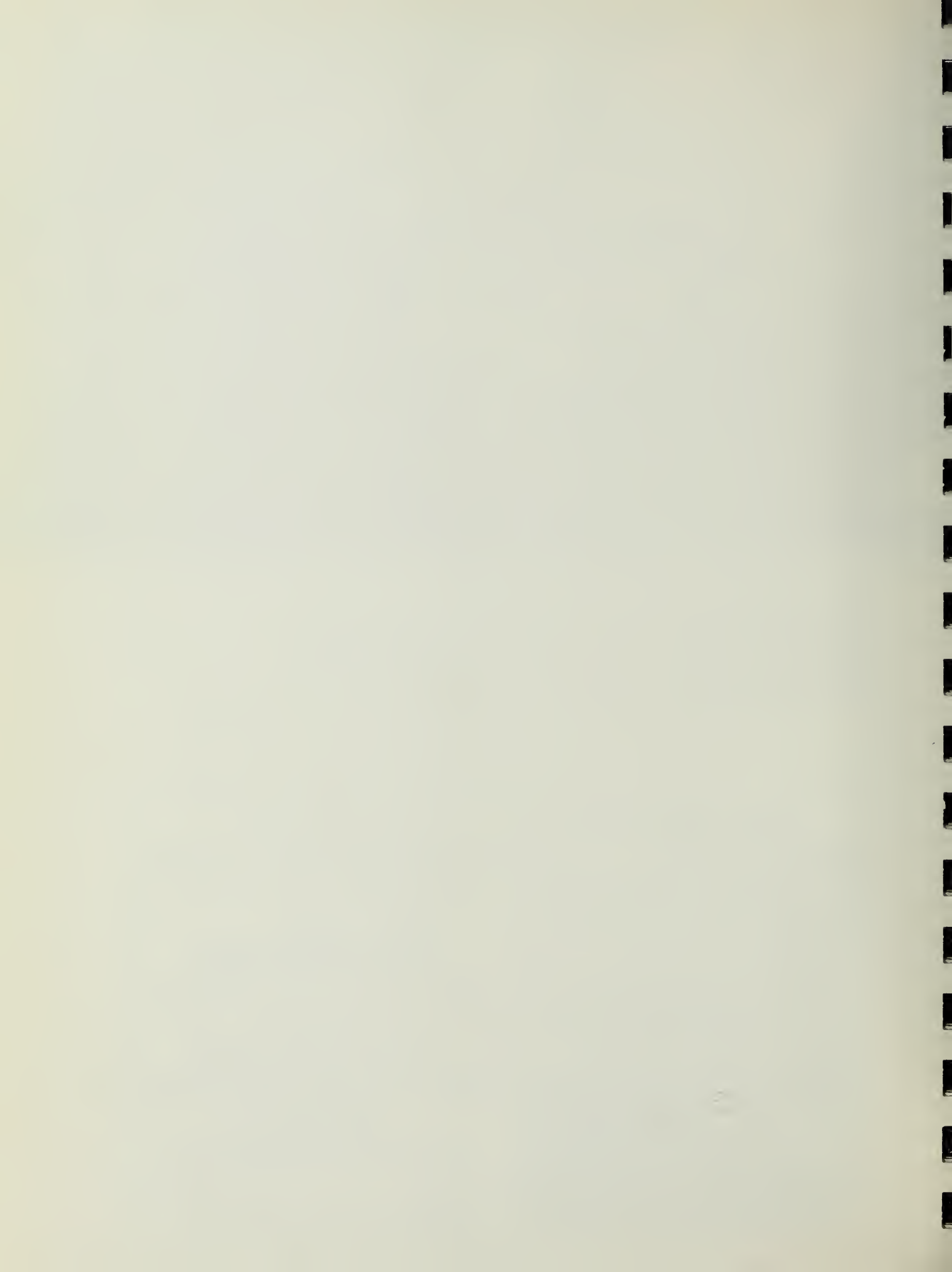
— AND —

UPHOLSTERY GOODS,
Spring, Hair, Wool, Moss, and Pulu
Mattresses.

212, 214 and 216 COMMERCIAL ST.

Below Front, - - - SAN FRANCISCO.

Steamers and Vessels promptly fitted up.



If Katie had learned to sew "regalia" she might have improved her lot. The need for regalia grew out of the astonishing increase in the number of fraternal and benevolent organizations that required costumes in San Francisco. "In establishments engaged in the manufacture of gimp, fringe, braid, regalia, no Chinaman is to be seen, but there are numbers of contented and healthy looking women and girls who commence as apprentices at \$3 or \$4 a week, and after learning their trade, can earn \$8 to \$12, sometimes even \$20. . ." (Hittell 1882: 119). The kinds of regalia needed by Sons of the Emerald Isle, King Solomon's Lodge, the Grand Commandery of Knights Templar, the Grand Chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star, can only be imagined, and various lodges had Standard Bearers, Grand Sword Bearers, Grand Pursuivants, and Captains and Sentinels and Generalissimos (Langley 1880: 1111-1140). Whatever Kate might have hoped for the future, it was not for the life of her neighbor **Theresa Gerbhardt**.

On the corner of Alice and Louisa, in a small two-story house, 20 feet square, lived widow Gerbhardt, who was 50 in 1880. A washerwoman, she had been born in Bavaria and had lived in San Francisco since 1860. Her husband, Frederick, had been a carriagemith, who died in the 1870's. Of their four children, three were still in school, and the oldest, Frederick, was at 18 an apprentice sawmaker who may have contributed as much as \$6 to \$8 a week to the fatherless family. By 1886 there was one more wage earner, George, who had become a clerk. The Gerbhardts represented almost the worst economic position a laboring family could be placed in, short of serious illness that required any savings that may have been set aside, and not to mention losing all income during the worker's illness. Just a little over 400 feet away from Louisa Alley and Louisa Street on Harrison Street, family circumstances were radically different.

Henry Lewis, a commission merchant, lived at 770 Harrison Street in a large, three-story house. Harrison Street in 1880 was lined with what had been built as relatively spacious middle-class homes, rather than with shops and businesses. The Lewis home was constructed without a basement, unlike the two- and three-story residences on either side.

Henry Lewis belonged to the class of immigrant families who had "made good" in America. An immigrant from England, he perhaps had a better chance of success than did most of the Irish immigrants who, due to lack of education, general poverty, or outright discrimination, were more likely to remain blue-collar workers. At 63, Henry had already lived in America for half of his life, as his son, Barnett, who was 34, had been born in New York. Sadie, Katie, and Hattie were 21, 19, and 16, respectively, and all had been born in California. Lewis and his oldest son, Barnett, were in the wholesale grocery business at 122 Clay Street, where they handled groceries, wines, and provisions. By 1886, he was simply listed as "general commission merchant," all references to groceries being dropped. By 1886 he had moved out of the Yerba Buena Center to 432 Golden Gate; and by 1895, the year of his death, the family lived at 116 Page Street, in the fashionable Haight-Ashbury District.

Of the families sampled on Harrison Street in 1886, two could be described as relatively prosperous, while the others were working class. At 732 Harrison lived **Peter Schenkel**, a wholesale butcher from Germany, along with his French wife and mother-in-law. At 736 Harrison lived **John Bryan**, a retail hardware-store owner. John had been born in New Brunswick of Irish parents, and at 38 he already had seven children, spaced at roughly 1½-year intervals. With the Bryans lived **Frank Porter**, a French-Canadian (who worked in a trunk factory), his wife, and their Irish servant girl. Apparently "worked in Trunk Factory" indicated some sort of managerial position, although the street also had a number of lower-level white-collar workers, such as **John Jones**, a railway messenger from Ireland, who lived at 756 Harrison.

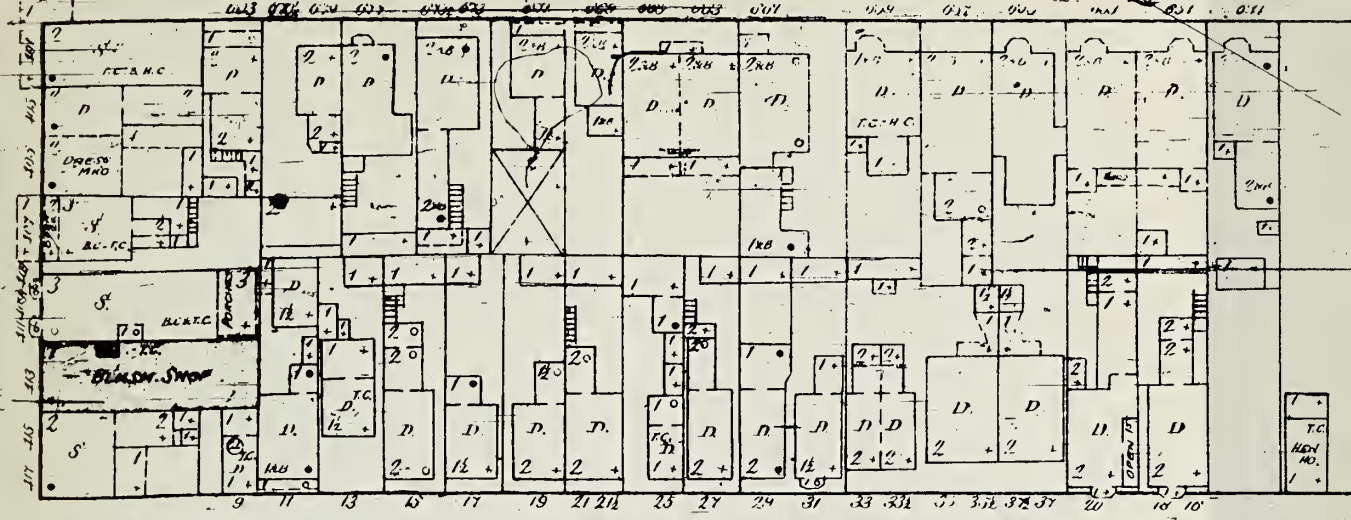
A brief study of the 1880 census information about the families along Harrison gives a picture of small families, with rarely over four people to a home, an occasional servant, but on the whole the working class predominated. Among their occupations were: salesman of retail hardware, millwright, junk dealer, wholesale butcher, laborer, bookkeeper, carriage shop worker, laborer, retail butcher, retail grocer, clerk in a store, painter, "at sea," iron molder, blacksmith, stevedore, secretary of the fire commissioners, car driver, confectioner, speculator in stocks, and

HARRISON

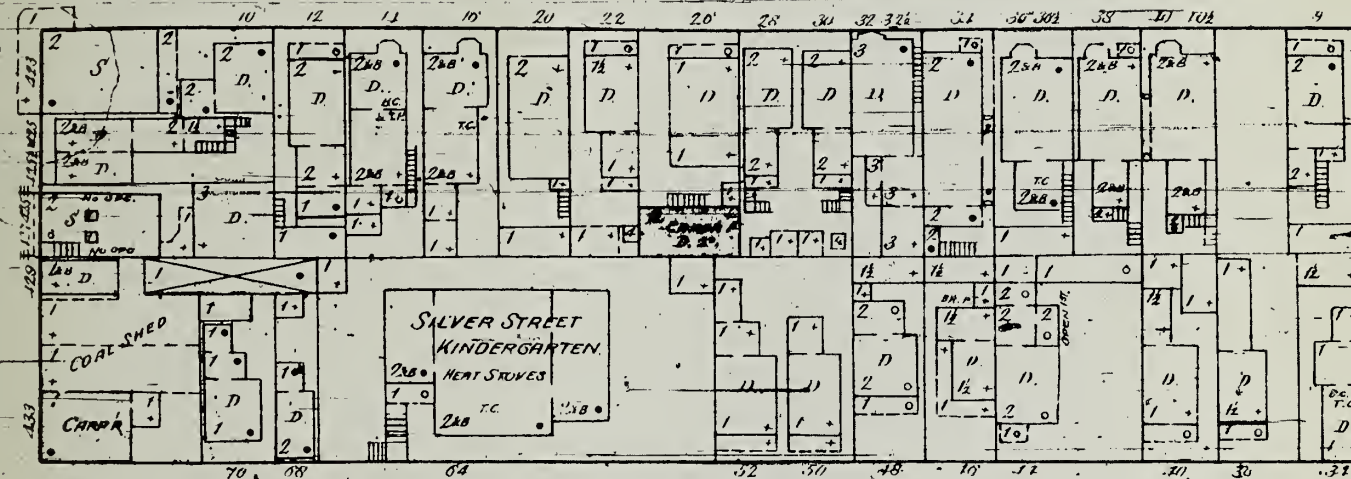
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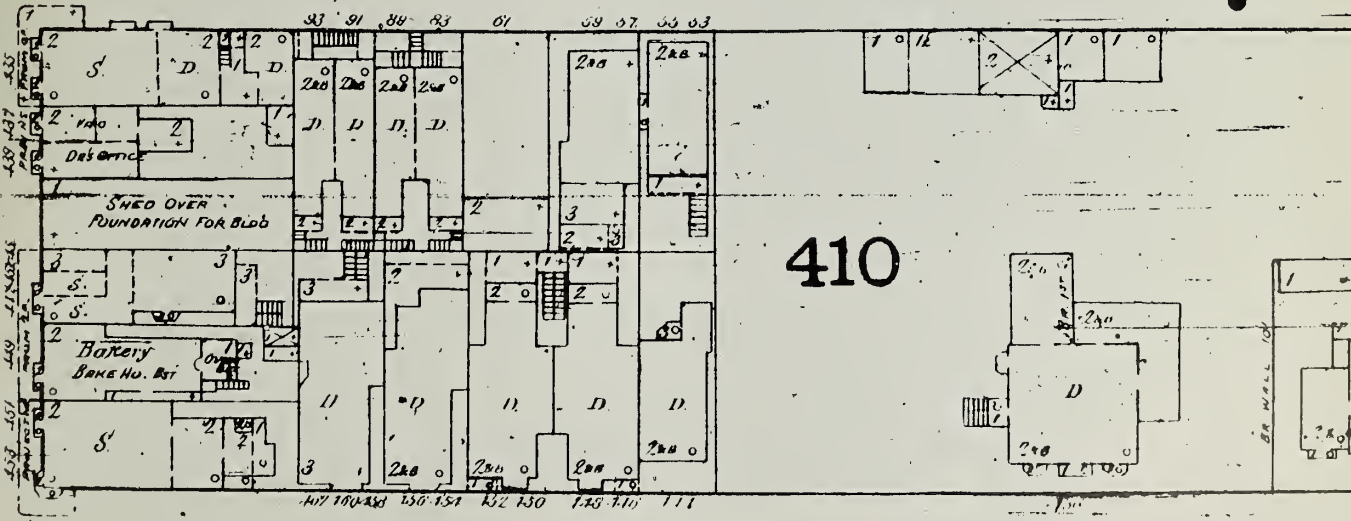
STREET



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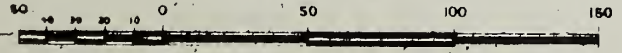


4" W. PIPE

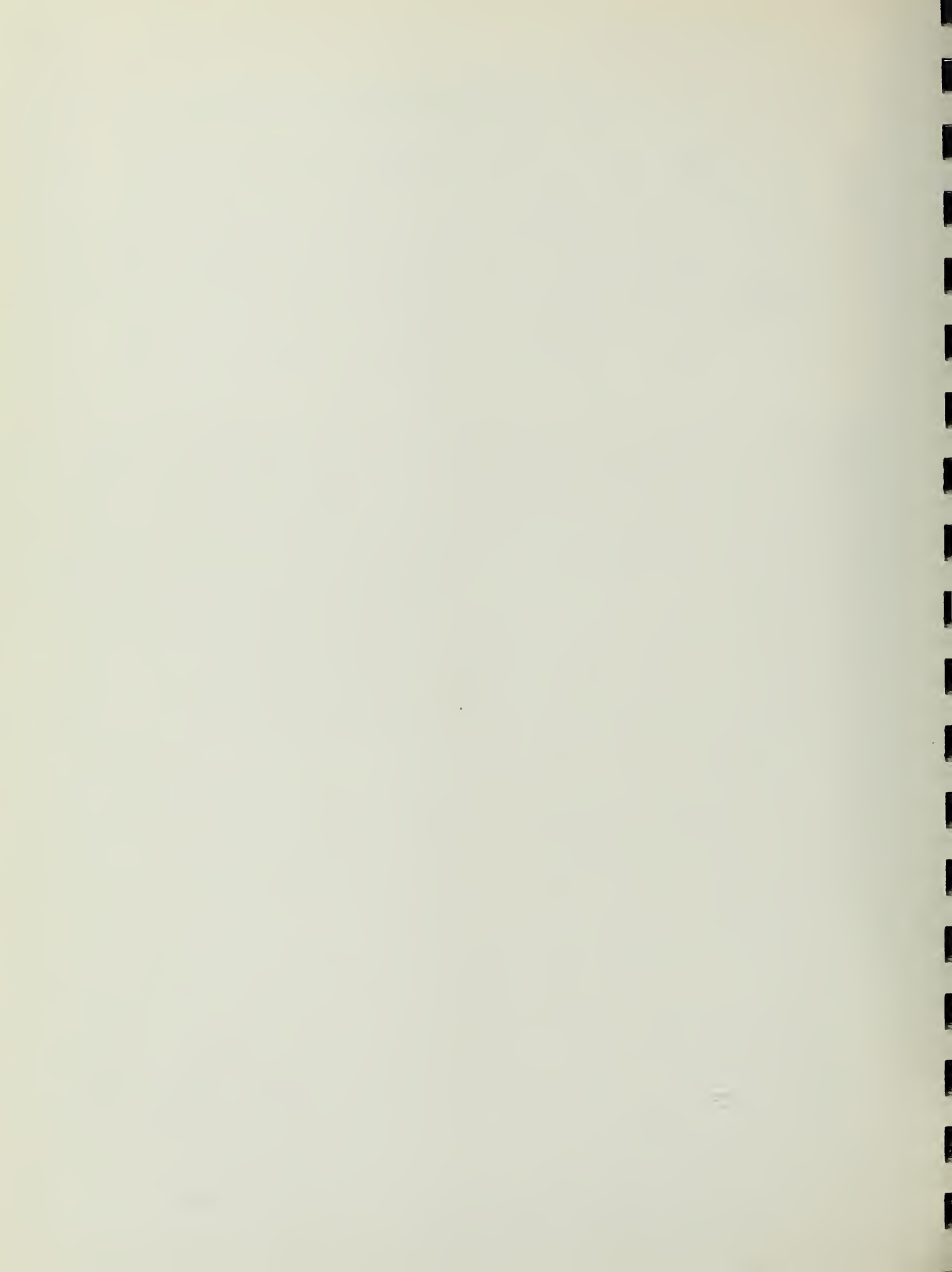


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Scale of Feet



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policeman. In addition, at 759 Harrison there was a (small) Chinese laundry. Although the Germans and the Irish were about equally represented along Clara and Louisa, Ritch Street appeared to be almost exclusively Irish. Harrison Street had a greater mixture of ethnic backgrounds--here there were more English and Scots, more New Englanders and New Yorkers, as well as Southerners. However, the numbers of Germans and Irish were still impressive.

On Minna and Natoma; on Sherwood Place and Third Street

The McMahon Family (222 Minna): Behind the Howard Presbyterian Church, a Mission Street landmark separated from the Ixora Dancing Hall by an undertaker's shop, lived the McMahon family, of Irish descent. The head of the family, **James B. McMahon**, made his money by harnessmaking, a skilled craft that set him apart from many of his fellow immigrants on the block. By 1880, the McMahons had been in California nearly a decade, for their eldest child, Joseph, then attending school, was seven years old and native to California. Indeed, the family had lived in San Francisco long enough for James, working for the large and reputable firm of **Main & Winchester**, "Importers and Manufacturers of saddles, harness, whips and collars," to save up enough money to go into business for himself. Hittell has a comment on James McMahon's long-time employers:

The business of Main & Winchester was established in 1849 by Charles Main and Ezra H. Winchester. Both gentlemen had a practical acquaintance with all branches of the business, and their success was so marked that, in 1860, the volume of their trade caused a removal to a large four-story building on the corner of Battery and Halleck streets, their present [1882] quarters. Of the prominent mercantile houses in San Francisco, unchanged in partnership and proprietorship, theirs is now the oldest. Three fourths in value of their sales--and the annual aggregate is very large--consist of Californian manufactures, of which they send a considerable quantity to the Atlantic slope.

Charles Main, senior member of the firm, was born in New Hampshire, in 1820. Left an orphan at 15, and dependent on his toil for his support, he became an apprentice to a harnessmaker, and learned the trade well. After several years as a journeyman, he became partner in a harness shop in Boston, but sold out to come to California in 1849. He

went to the mines, was fortunate there, and in 1850, with Mr. Winchester, established the firm which thrived from the start, is one of the oldest, and has been one of the most steadily prosperous business houses in San Francisco (Hittell 1882: 501-502).

McMahon proved successful in his business venture, at least successful enough never again to work for someone besides himself. The McMahon shop survived through the turn of the century and by that time was taken over by the younger James and Joseph. Through 1895 the McMahons lived at the same Minna street house, which, according to the **Handy Block Book** of 1894, they didn't own, despite their long inhabitation. 222 Minna was a two-story structure with a total of 1600 square feet and a back yard nearly as large. It was quite sufficient for the five McMahons, and they had space to spare, for they took in several boarders. For newly arrived immigrants in the United States, already established relatives commonly served as a destination. This was the case for Bridget Fitzpatrick, boarding with the McMahons and listed as sister-in-law. Aged 27, fresh from Ireland and still single, she made her way in San Francisco working as a servant, perhaps in one of the wealthier households up on Rincon Hill. Another roomer came from New York: George Vanderbilt, also single. He worked as a newspaper reporter, and apparently shared rooms with another Yankee, Rich Rossy, a Maine state restaurant worker six months unemployed in 1880.

The few dollars each month in rent that these roomers provided probably bolstered the McMahon's finances just enough to allow their new harness shop to succeed. Established harnessmakers like Main & Winchester paid \$3.50 a day to skilled craftsmen, and James McMahon, employed there from sometime before 1869 up to the time of his own venture into business, needed as much additional income as possible to supplement his necessarily limited savings from his years of wage labor. On the whole, the McMahons were one of the better-off residents along Minna Street. Self-employed, and living in a comparatively capacious home, they stayed many years at this address and were typical of the many Irish immigrants in the South of Market area who rose to the status of independent businessman.

The Stitt Family (40 Natoma Street): One of the more prosperous families along Natoma Street were the Stitts, living at 40 Natoma street, right next to the St. Patrick's school. The family is interesting to us, both because it exemplifies the successful family business, in this case carriage-making, and because it is one of the most durable families on Central Block 2, lasting from 1859, at least, up to the 1906 earthquake, a period of almost 50 years of continual occupation by a single closely knit family. These two characteristics, self-employment in an industrial, skilled occupation and long-term residence, did not exist through coincidence, and it is precisely those families, such as the Stitts, who owned their own businesses, who also were able to acquire sufficient capital to buy their own houses. Only through this combination of self-employment and ownership of property could a family manage to endure in the same place for such a long time, in contrast to the rootless laborers and semi-skilled workers who could never get ahead economically. Further evidence of the Stitts' prosperity was given by the 1894 **Handy Block Book**. Here, not only was the head of the family, Robert Stitt, or his son Robert, shown still living at 40 Natoma in one of the four little rowhouses, but he was revealed to be the owner of the entire row, including not only his own house, but 42, 44, and 46 Natoma as well.

In the 1880 census, the Stitt family is shown to be occupying one floor, and possibly the basement as well, of 40 Everett Street. The house, as shown on the 1887 Sanborn Map CB-2, was two stories tall, plus a basement, with a small, one-story outbuilding in back, which may have served as a shed or outhouse. As previously mentioned, the cottage was one of four identical row houses, all owned by the Stitts, and possibly built by them, since Robert was in a related trade, carriagemaking, and probably had a good knowledge of carpentry. The house itself occupied about half of its 20x80-foot lot, set back from the street 10 feet, and having 1000 square feet of space on each of its two floors, plus a full basement.

Robert Stitt, Senior, had been born in England and arrived in San Francisco sometime before 1859, the first year for which a thoroughly satisfactory directory was issued. At that time he would have been 34

years old, and have already married his wife, Georgiana. His first child, Robert, Junior (age 22 at the time of the 1880 census), was born in 1858 in California. The second son, John, was born just a year later. Perhaps there were more children later on, but this is doubtful, since none are listed in the census. Georgiana, Robert's wife, was 39 in 1880, placing her age at the time of her marriage to Robert at only 16 or 17. Georgiana was born in Massachusetts, of parents also born in Massachusetts.

Robert Stitt, Senior, moved to 40 Natoma in the late 1850's, when that street was still relatively unpopulated, and continued to dwell there until his death around 1890, by which time he was 65. Gradually, his business grew more and more profitable, for while he was listed in 1875 as a wheelright, he had by 1886 advanced to the slightly pretentious-sounding occupation of "Carriage Manufacturer," impressively listed in boldface type in the city directory. Just as his title expanded, so did his business, from 246 Market in 1879 to 645-647 Mission, and to 142 Minna in 1886. After the death of the senior Robert, his son, Robert, took over the carriage business, and by 1905 John Stitt was operating the business, still living at 240 Natoma street.

Hittell describes the importance of the carriagemaking business in California and San Francisco at the time the Stitts were in business:

The high rate of wages, the value of time to business men, the abundance and cheapness of horses and horsefeed, the sparseness of population, the long distances at which many of the farmers live from towns, the number of good roads, and the considerable amounts of exports and imports, have led the people of our coast to own and use an exceptionally large number of wagons and buggies. It is doubtful, whether so many are to be found in proportion to the people in any other part of the world. All the large towns have pleasure drives, on which the light buggy and the fast trotter are leading features. While we consume a great number of wheeled vehicles we produce but few. The oak used in the heavy and the hickory in the light wagons are equally lacking, and we must import both from the Mississippi Valley. . . . A great part of the value of a wagon is in the wheels, most of which are made up for us beyond the Rocky Mountains. Even when wagons are made here, the spokes, fellows, hubs, axles, and tongues have not infrequently been shaped back East.

We purchase on this coast about 7,000 farm wagons annually, worth \$100 each, and the number made here is very small. . . . In spring wagons, such as are required in

express, grocery, and dairy business, and in buggies and other light pleasure wagons, we do more. . . .

San Francisco, which has probably one third of the manufacturing industry of the coast in this branch, makes annually about 500 spring wagons, worth \$200 each on the average; as many buggies worth \$250; 100 rockaways, worth \$450; and 25 hacks and coupes, worth \$800. Many of these are made to order, either for the sake of getting something different from the imported vehicles, or because of confidence in the superior excellence of a certain shop. . . . In 1870 California had 84 establishments in which carriages and wagons were made, employing 630 men and 10 boys, with wages aggregating \$447,336, using materials worth \$439,404 and producing vehicles worth \$1,309,443 (Hittell 1882: 616-618).

The Stitts probably made a good income from their carriagemaking business, since the average wage for carriagemakers, at about \$4 to \$5 a day, was one of the better wages in the city. The price of their labor alone would have meant an income of nearly \$250 a month, a large figure for any family at that time, and particularly for one without any young children to feed. But we must also remember that the Stitts owned their own business, which meant that they alone received the profits from their enterprise. Finally, the Stitts had two roomers, and of course profited from the rents of the adjoining three houses. When we consider all of these additional monies, the Stitts are seen to be one of the up-and-coming families in their neighborhood.

The Henry W. Frank Family (64 Natoma): For many years one of the major landmarks on Natoma Street was the **Albany Brewing Company**, whose premises just east of Fourth Street fronted both sides of the alley. It was just three doors down from this establishment that the **Henry W. Frank** family lived, very likely the most prosperous residents in their immediate neighborhood. Indeed, the Frank house easily outsized the other houses along the block. Three stories tall, built to the full 25-foot frontage of its lot, it extended 50 feet back. These row houses on Natoma, such as the set of four owned by Robert Stitt down towards Third, were subdivided into flats usually no more than 16 feet wide. Squared off, each of the three floors of the Frank house contained 1250

square feet, but a capacious bay window further increased this footage as well as letting in the morning sunlight that flooded the narrow street from the east.

Henry W. Frank emigrated from Prussia, and he had wasted no time establishing himself in his new homeland. By 1859, when he was 29, he already ran his own business, a mattress-making shop at 20 Commercial. It is likely that he had fled Prussia in the wake of the European revolutions of 1848, and hearing golden tales of California, headed for San Francisco in 1854 to join in partnership with a fellow Prussian, Conrad Wuestefeld, in the manufacturing of mattresses and bedding. Frank was the senior partner, for the company bore his name at its inception and continued under that name for the next half-century.

From the production of bedding Frank and Wuestefeld branched out into the selling of furniture. By 1861 the company's address had changed from 20 to 228 Commercial Street, but this may not have been an actual change of location but rather an address renumbering made necessary by the extension of Commercial Street over the rapidly filled Yerba Buena Cove. At any rate Frank and Wuestefeld prospered. By 1886 they were able to afford grand-scale advertising in the city directory. Complete with an eye-catching woodcut showing customers loading chairs and cabinets into a wagon in front of their Commercial Street establishment, their third-page spread advertised them as "Wholesale and Retail Manufacturers and Dealers in BEDDING, FURNITURE and UPHOLSTERY GOODS, Spring, Hair, Wool, Moss, and Pulu Mattresses."

Hittell mentioned **Henry W. Frank and Company** in his appendix and elsewhere in **Commerce and Industries**, as he described the manufacture of bedding:

Bedding—Of the various articles used, apart from natural hair, for mattress and other fillings, only two, Eureka hair and shoddy, or patent wool, are manufactured on this coast. The consumption of the former is about 300 tons a year, worth as raw fiber \$60, and when prepared for use \$250 a ton. Of shoddy about 400 tons are made up, and its price may be stated at 7-1/2 cents a pound, is used to the extent of at least 60 tons a year. The annual consumption of bristles and cow-hair, together with the small amount of real horse-hair that finds its way to this market, may be estimated at 300 tons. These are the chief articles used for filling purposes, and their total value probably exceeds

\$300,000. Of this amount, material to the value of nearly \$200,000 is manufactured on this coast, and 35 to 40% of the entire consumption is imported, mainly from New York. For real horse-hair there is little demand in this market. The best quality sells at 60 cents a pound. Nearly all the short hair is obtained here, but about nine tenths of the consumption of cows' hair is supplied from the East. . . . a mixture is made of the different kinds of hair, whether horse, hog, or cow, in proportion to the price paid. Pulu, a moss-like vegetable growth from the Sandwich Islands, was largely used in former years for mattress filling, but has now almost entirely disappeared from the market.

The wages in this branch of manufacture are not higher than those of Eastern cities. In San Francisco, spring and top mattress makers are paid from \$2 to \$3 a day. Unskilled labor is paid as low as \$1 per day. . . . In San Francisco only men and boys work at this occupation, but in Eastern cities women are also employed, and the wages are little more than half the above rates. The entire number of hands engaged in San Francisco in the manufacture of bedding may be estimated at 300 and the value of the different articles manufactured during the year 1881 at \$800,000 (Hittell 1882: 467-68).

Henry W. Frank and Company's advertisement also asserts "Steamers and Vessels promptly fitted up," which indicates that Frank and Company depended greatly upon maritime trade, outfitting the ships that visited the nearby Washington and Clay street wharfs, perhaps supplying pulu mattresses to the third-class berths and hair mattresses to first-class cabins.

Henry W. Frank & Company survived under that name until the 1906 fire. The company took over and assumed the name of the Milwaukee Furniture Company, still extant today at 832 Mission Street under the name of Roberts-Milwaukee Furniture Company, but no longer under the proprietorship of the Frank family.

Three families lived at 64 Natoma in the house owned, according to the **Handy Block Book** of 1894, by the Frank family with one family to a floor. The Franks had a propensity for people of German background when choosing their renters. Not only were the Prussian Wuestefelds living on one floor, a quite natural circumstance, for people who worked together often lived together, but also another family of German descent occupied the remaining floor. **Hermann Mangels** and his wife Catherine, both from Hanover, and their children with the quintessential German

names of Mathilda, Gustav, Frederick, Wilhelm, and Johann, made 64 Natoma their home along with lodger Johann Trane, also German. Mangels had a short commute to work. He worked as a brewer at the Albany Brewing Company, a company owned by Claus Spreckels, another German immigrant. As often among the first-generation immigrants in this country, settlers along Natoma Street tried to keep as much of the old country around them as possible.

At the time of the 1880 census Henry W. Frank was age 50, and his wife Catherine was 40. It is probable that they married in San Francisco, for when Henry established his business in 1854, Catherine was just 14. Catherine had come from Hanover, and the 1860 census shows her to have been a relative to the Mangels. It is likely that they suggested her transoceanic and transcontinental travels expressly to marry the well-to-do bachelor, Mr. Frank. In the early post-Gold Rush days of San Francisco, when few eligible women were to be found and yet fewer respectable ones, such long-distance matchmaking was not uncommon. Catherine bore her first child at the age of 23, and Dora, 17 in 1880, proved to be the first of five children. Henry W., Jr., 16, carried on the family name and business, moving to the Western Addition sometime before 1895, and finally ending his long life in the late 1950's, living on Broadway with his wife, Elsa. Another son, Clement, likewise worked his entire life for the family furniture business. The two remaining children, Annie and Bertha, we could not trace.

The 1880 census listed two lodgers living with the Franks, a cabinetmaker and a canvasser, aged 41 and 30, and both still single. As the presence of these two lodgers seems to indicate, the Franks, although successful, maintained a frugal way of life, since for the most part lodgers were taken in to bolster a family's financial situation.

All in all, the house at 64 Natoma Street was a scene of great domestic security. In comparison to the other residences along the street, the living quarters were extremely roomy. The families within were held together by the common ties of national ancestry, occupation, and newly acquired kinship. They were undoubtedly prosperous, and in the Franks' case, on the way up. They could afford to send their children to school, or to keep them--as with Dora Frank--simply "at home"; even though 17,

she was not on her way to work as a dressmaker or cigar maker as were many of her neighbors. Furthermore, the three sets of parents were each involved in rearing a family; both the Wuestefelds and the Mangels had babies, despite Catherine Mangels age of 41, and all the children of all the families were born in California. Clearly, the house at 64 Natoma was an enclave of the middle class amidst the surrounding homes of the working class.

Poverty at 54-56 Natoma Street: Natoma Street in the 1880's was a neighborhood of many contrasts. Save for the unifying factor that all adult residents in the area, almost without exception, were immigrants to California, this neighborhood became not only a melting pot of ethnic differences, but also an area with marked economic disparity. By 1880, just 20 years after the first large influx of residential development, the neighborhood had not yet had time to even out economically. For instance, just two lots down the street from the comparatively wealthy Frank family, lived the relatively poor **Costello and Barry** families.

Of these two families the Costellos were the better off. Fronting the street, their residence at 54 Natoma was two stories tall and contained a basement. Each of the floors had 1000 square feet. It was in this small space that the eight Costellos lived along with four lodgers. John Costello, the head of the family, had come to America from Ireland sometime before 1860, stopping first in Kentucky, where his wife Delia bore their first three children, Lawrence, Maggie, and Mary Anne. The family came to the coast between 1866 and 1868, just after the Civil War. Once in California, the Costello family grew by another three children, John Jr., Katie, and Joseph. John Costello supported this large family as best he could by working as a laborer with the "quarter master's department, U.S.A.," according to the 1880 city directory. Six years later he still worked for the Army, but now as a "packer, clothing department." Even with some additional money brought in by the four boarders, John Costello's income was apparently meager. Two of the four boarders may have contributed to the family income only when they could, as one, Peter Finegan, was unemployed for 12 months and suffered from "spine

disease," while another boarder, John Lawler, was a sometimes unemployed boilermaker.

The three eldest children worked to supplement the family income. Lawrence Costello, age 19, worked in a tin shop. Maggie, age 15, had found employment as a dressmaker, and Mary Anne, at 14, the youngest of these workers, had already begun work as a milliner. Children 10 years and older who worked in San Francisco industries were paid lower wages than adults, thus "brushmakers (men), \$2.50; brushmakers (boys and girls) \$1; oakum pickers (boys, \$1. . . Chinese as oakum pickers, receive 90¢ per day . . ." (Hittell 1882: 102). As a dressmaker Maggie might make as little as \$1 a week or as much as \$5 a week depending on her skills. Again it was Hittell who observed, "there are a number of young sewing girls in San Francisco who have to earn their own livelihood entirely or in part;" and he went on to quote an employer of young San Francisco seamstresses, "It appears that women coming here believe they must marry a rich man, and consequently do not wish to work in a factory, . . . I think it will take a few years more until there are several thousand more idle girls in San Francisco, and the market for marriageable girls is overstocked, before girls of proper age will come to their proper sense, and assist their parents and themselves by honest work in a factory." Hittell goes on to add, "Hundreds of unskilled workwomen, in San Francisco, are willing, and even anxious, to work for \$1 a day on shirts and under-clothing, but their services are almost worthless . . ." (Hittell 1882: 110-111).

All in all, the combined income of the Costello family, however, was sufficient to keep the youngest three children in school. The Costello family circumstances complete the picture of a working-class family, unable to get far enough ahead economically to give their children a high-school education--this being the traditional first step of the next generation of an upwardly mobile immigrant family.

Behind the Costello house, and set back 50 feet from Natoma Street, stood the single-story residence of the Barry family. With only 600 square feet of living space, plus a basement, the house must have been extremely cramped for the eight members of the family (Sanborn

Map CB-2). Though the Barrys had lived in California at least 14 years, as indicated by the age of son John, a native to this state, **Patrick Barry** had not found even stable employment. The 1880 directory, compiled in late 1879 and early 1880, lists Patrick Barry as "laborer, Golden State and Miner's Iron Works," a foundry that, according to the **South of Market Journal**, had in its early days cast the columns for the Capitol of Sacramento, but in later years was more involved in dredging machinery. . ." (Hedley Feb. 1930: 12-13). But about a half-year later, when the 1880 census was taken, Barry had lost his job. Giving his occupation as laborer, he was six months unemployed. His wife **Bridget** kept house in the small quarters on Natoma Street for her husband and their six children, one of whom was just 11 months old.

The Barry's eldest son, William, age 18, worked as a tinsmith in the coopershop of Charles Brown, a small firm not even listed under "Coopers" in the 1880 business directory. Here William Barry had a chance at learning a skilled trade, escaping the childhood poverty caused by the occasional minimal wages brought in by his laboring father. William could look forward to making \$2.50 to \$3.50 a day once he reached the position of a journeyman cooper (Hittell 1882: 620).

Despite the inducements of these moderately high wages, there was a scarcity of coopers on the Pacific Coast, according to J. S. Hittell. coopers generally preferred to hire skilled workmen from the East Coast, and not young, untrained locals such as William Barry. Hittell related:

Invitations have repeatedly been extended to Eastern workmen, but few of them have been induced to settle on this coast. The journeyman cooper is usually inclined to improvidence, and lack of means rather than disinclination may have stood in the way. Apprentices are prevented from obtaining employment by the jealousy of workmen, or, if employed, do not take hold of their trade in such a way as to give satisfaction (Hittell 1882: 621).

If young William did indeed "take hold" of his trade we do not know, for he was not listed in the 1886 directory. But we do know from the census that in 1880 he was the main wage earner in the Barry family. With his father unemployed and his 14-year-old brother, John, at work as a newspaper carrier (then, as today, a lowly paid occupation), the combined

income of the Barry family could not even keep the 9-year-old James and the 7-year-old Nellie in school. A copy of the 1880 census reveals that the census taker first listed these children "at school," only to cross out the listing with a thick black line.

Both the Costellos and the Barrys were Irish laboring families, and both were poor. Yet another interesting similarity was the age of the parents. Although John Costello was 37 when Lawrence was born, his wife, Delia, was only 21. Bridget Barry bore her son William at the age of 21, while her husband, Patrick, was just a single year older. Immigrants, many of whom traveled for some time before settling down, and who required time to establish themselves in their new homeland, often were in or approaching their 30's by the time they came to the South of Market area. For instance, Henry and Catherine Frank were 33 and 23 when their first child was born. Hermann Mangels and his wife, Catherine, were 32 and 28 when they had Mathilda. And the Kennedy family on Western Block 3 had their first child when Hugh was 35 and Abba 37. Young parents—that is, those in their 'teens and in the first years of their 20's—were rare among the immigrant families of the South of Market area. If the Costellos and especially the Barrys serve as representative examples, the rearing of large families, coupled with the necessity of paying rent and the job insecurity inherent in employment as a laborer, all tended to create a sort of poverty that was difficult to escape.

The Deep South Comes West (28 Natoma): Just as the monopolistic Pacific Mail Steamship Company used Chinese to crew their vessels, the largest hotels in San Francisco hired another minority, Blacks and Mulattoes, to serve as waiters, wine-room men, doormen, porters, bootblacks, bellboys, and the other assorted tasks related to hotel keeping. Even Black women could get employment in such establishments as the Palace Hotel, the "largest hotel on earth," working as chambermaids straightening up the many rooms, each of which had a fireplace, a clothes closet, and a private toilet, as well as a bath shared with an adjoining room. This hotel workforce consisted of Southern Blacks freed by the Civil War. Trained in slavery as domestics for their masters, the Blacks found jobs in the hotels about San Francisco.

Many of these Blacks lived together in the South of Market area. One such notable household was at 28 Natoma. Two stories tall, containing a basement, and set back 10 feet from the street, this house had 560 square feet to a floor. Furthermore a small shack, 12 by 16 feet, stood in the backyard. In this compound lived 14 Mulattoes and Blacks, ranging in age from 2 months to 50 years. Without exception, every one of these residents who worked was employed at the Palace Hotel.

The only family group listed was **Thomas Payton** and his wife, Mary, perhaps with the 50-year-old widow, Millie Swan. They may have lived in the shack out in back, so as to gain a measure of privacy from the nine men that also lived at this address. Thomas Payton, a waiter at the Palace Hotel, came from Virginia, as did his parents. He was a Mulatto, but he had married a white woman. Mary had immigrated from Ireland and by 1880, when she was only 22, already had a 3-year-old daughter, Sadie, born in California. And just two months before the census taker arrived, she had yet another daughter, this one named Mamie.

Other than the Paytons, nobody at 28 Natoma shared the same surname. **Daniel O'Brien** was a Mulatto born in Alabama to Alabaman parents. **Alexander Galloway** was a Black porter from Virginia. With a name so stately, **Henry Venable** may have served an Englishman back in his birthplace of Georgia. And **Jefferson Robinson** came from Virginia, perhaps from a plantation not far from Monticello.

The residence of these Palace Hotel employees was not stable. A half-year earlier, when the 1880 City Directory was compiled, the Paytons, Robinson, and several of the others lived at 613 Howard, and a year before that at 140 Minna. By 1886, the Paytons had moved to Second Street, and Jefferson Robinson to 30 Natoma. Only one other could be traced through the directories, James Edgell, who had moved to 224 Minna--next door to the McMahon family, the harnessmakers described elsewhere in this work.

A Widow and More Waiters (8 Sherwood Place): Unlike most of the blocks and partial blocks within the Yerba Buena Center, three narrow back streets, instead of the usual two, divided Eastern Block 2. These were Minna Street (35 feet wide), Hunt Street (30 feet wide), and Sherwood

Place (only 25 feet wide). Together they provided access to the interior of the block along six frontages, as can be seen on the 1887 Sanborn Map EB-2. By so subdividing these large South of Market blocks (that were laid out to be 833 by 555 feet), more houses could be crammed into the area of a block between the major cross streets—in this instance, Third, Mission, and Howard streets. Whatever the benefits of increased access may have been, such subdivision had the adverse effect of making smaller lots still smaller and adding to the already dense population.

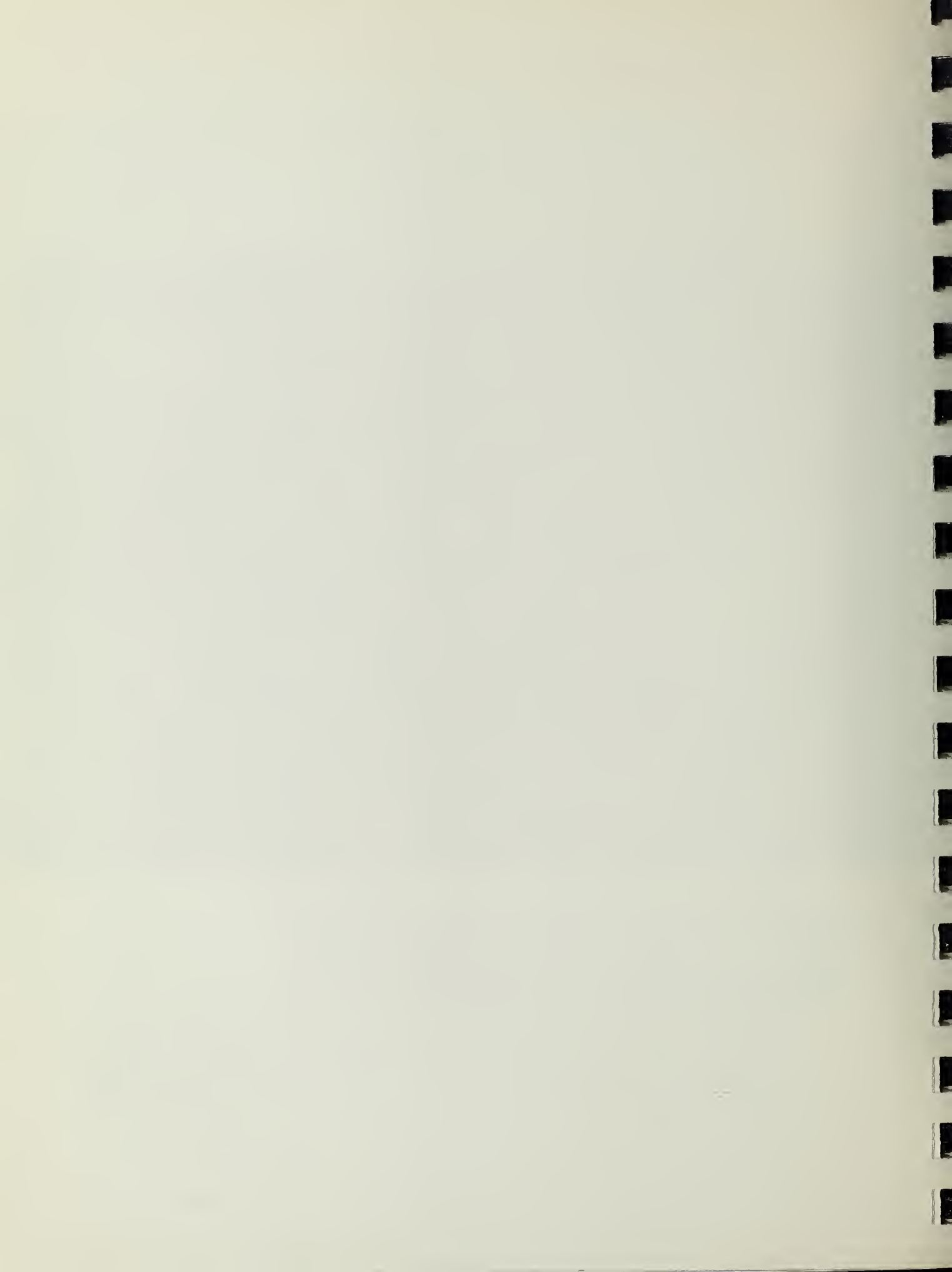
On Sherwood Place, for example, a house and lot might be 20 feet wide, as many were on the Yerba Buena site, but only 40 feet deep, instead of the customary 80 feet. One such crowded lot contained two houses that fronted at 171 Minna and 8 Sherwood Place. The house at 171 Minna was the smaller of the pair. Two stories tall, having a basement, it had a total of 850 square feet. Its backyard was a strip across the lot containing a mere 320 square feet. Furthermore, this strip also served as the backyard for the house at 8 Sherwood Place, a house that appeared on the 1887 Sanborn Map to have a back porch overlooking this yard. Built without a basement, this house was three narrow stories tall, and each floor contained 700 square feet of floor area.

In 1880 the longest-term residents of 8 Sherwood Place were the Coyle family, who first appeared at the address in the 1869 directory. At that date **Patrick Coyle** worked as a hostler with **J.H. Swain**, but a decade later he had died, leaving his two children fatherless and his wife, Mary, widowed. Originally from Ireland, Patrick and Mary had come West from New York in the late 1860's, possibly on the newly constructed transcontinental railroad. They made this journey carrying their baby daughter, Mary E., born in New York in 1866. After their arrival in California, they had a son, whom they named Patrick, Jr.

Living with the Coyles was the young Emmons family. **Thomas Emmons** was an Englishman, and just 22 in 1880. His wife, Mary, of Irish heritage but born in New Jersey, was the youngest mother found in this 1880 census sample of the Yerba Buena Center site. Mary was only 18 and with a 2-year-old son. But the Emmons family was not often together. Thomas worked as an oiler on the Pacific Coast steamship **Senator**, an old paddle wheeler that had arrived in San Francisco via the



Plate 45: The Palace Hotel and the Back Alleys . . . Part of a sweeping view of San Francisco taken in the mid-1880's from the Shelby Shot Tower at First and Howard, this scene is dominated by the Palace Hotel at Market and New Montgomery. In the mid-distance, the spire of St. Patrick's Church marks the heart of the Yerba Buena Center. What is of considerable interest is the rare view of Natoma and Minna Streets, with the backyard jumble of stairs, catwalks, outhouses, sheds, and jerry-built additions that reflect the crowded conditions of this workingmen's neighborhood, the most crowded ward in the city. (Bancroft Library)



Straits of Magellan in '49, and by 1880 mainly operated coastwise to San Diego. On this run the **Senator** berthed in San Francisco about every ten days, staying in port for only two or three days. Only during this time could Thomas have seen his wife and child.

In the rest of 8 Sherwood Place lived several families of Blacks in which all of the adult males were employed as waiters. The census taker emphasized the presence of Blacks in this ward by marking in a very heavy capital "B", larger than any of the other initials under the column listing race, so that they stand out on the census shedule sheet.

John Harris, a Jamaican, was the earliest of these to be listed in the City Directory. The 1869 directory read: "Harris John, (colored) porter, dwl. 1106 Clay." Ten years later he worked as a waiter on the **S. S. Idaho** and in 1880 aboard the **S. S. Ancon**. But by 1886 he had quit the sea and gotten a job ashore waiting tables at the **Palace Hotel**. Meanwhile his wife, Phoebe, worked as chambermaid at the Palace, at least until two months before the census taker knocked at their door, when she was two months unemployed and simply "keeping house."

Two other black couples also lived in the house. There was **Charles Anderson** and his wife, Maggie. He, too, was a waiter at the Palace, but later switched to the Montgomery's Hotel. Maggie worked as a domestic, at least until 1879, the last listing for her in the directory. They had two sons, Charles, aged 6, and "Birdie," 2. A childless couple lived with them. This was **John Merritt** and his wife, Ann. It was unusual that John was 27 and Ann was 35. Like the other inhabitants of the house, John worked at the Palace Hotel, waiting tables. Two single men boarded at 8 Sherwood Place. These were **George Josephs**, a bellman at the Palace, and **Louis J. Brown**, a wine-room worker, also at the Palace. Plate 45 shows the Palace Hotel and the contasting working-class neighborhood to the south.

In and about the Yerba Buena Center lived groups of Blacks, such as those described here on EB-2, and Mulattoes, such as described above on CB-2. Blacks tended to live together; only rarely were they taken on singly as boarders in white households. Their lot was to live separately, work separately and even socialize separately. In one of the rare mentions of the Black population of the South of Market area, Edward Morphy, in

a series of remembrances that ran in the **San Francisco Chronicle** in 1919-1920, described several of the Black clubs:

Another famous club in that section was the Horace Jackson Club, which was on Mission Street just east of Third, where colored gentlemen and their friends could get together over a sociable game of craps, generally without bloodshed. Seekers after the truth who are endeavoring to recall the historic figure after whom this club was named will be saved trouble by the information that Horace Jackson Club was named after its founder, a most distinguished colored waiter from the Old Palace Hotel.

More renowned than the Horace Jackson Club, however, was the Lotus Club, on the southwest corner of Third and Stevenson Streets, where, in the sporting parlance of the locality, all colored gents on the West Coast met fourways from the jack.

To the Lotus Club belonged the real haute volee of our colored aristocracy. It was conducted by Hen Morris and his son Ed; both retired Pullman porters. The motto of the establishment, as enunciated by Dave Stuart, the gifted chief dealer and craps expert of the establishment, was: "He who enters here leaves soap behind. We'll clean you out." He said a "Southern gentleman had written the motto down for him," and he understood it was by "a Dago minstrel named Dant."

Great prosperity and comparatively few troubles characterized the career of the Lotus Club, which now, alas, exists no more . . . Another, unhappily more serious affair, was the death of Dempsey Wigfall, who fell out with Dave Marshall and Andy Williams over a colored lady named "Miss Mabel" and was by them stabbed to death on the club premises. Andy received a life sentence as a result of that mishap (Morphy: 260).

Elsewhere Morphy describes a famous shooting incident at the Lotus Club, alluded to in the above quotation and less serious than the death of Dempsey Wigfall:

On a certain historic occasion, one of Jack Welch's adherents, named Gallagher, went into the McManus stronghold and there demonstrated his contempt and contumely by shooting the hands off the clock on the bar.

So elated did he feel with himself over this achievement that he straightaway proceeded to the Lotus Club, a few doors south, entered it, and shot up the place. The members--all gentlemen of color--fled their crap games and their cards and leaped, of one accord, out the windows (Morphy: 255-256).

Although Morphy was a newspaper reporter who is more remembered for his "colorful" anecdotes than his accuracy, his views reflected the

Irish newspaper columnist view of Black social life in San Francisco in the early 1920's. None of the **South of Market Journal** recollections include any Black memories from their Irish contributors who were contemporaries of Morphy, although their nostalgia tended to center around earlier times. Therefore we have no real picture of the social life that Palace Hotel waiters or porters and their families may have led.

Black servants were preferred as hotel waiters because they were well trained in "service" to the middle- and upper-class carriage trade that the big hotels attracted as guests. Whereas the poorer Irish immigrants were often found as "laborers," this was not true of those few Black and Mulatto families living in the Yerba Buena Center in 1880. The young Irish serving girl of the 1860's persisted as an institution in the 1880's, but her male counterpart did not exist.

A Pair of Grocers (157-159 Minna): In its heyday Third Street was a busy and crowded thoroughfare, the gateway from the docks of the southern waterfront to downtown San Francisco. Many little shops lined it, serving both newcomers and the residents of the immediate neighborhood. A brief extract from the **South of Market Journal** exemplified the storefront commerce along Third Street:

Now we cross Mission and go down on the east side of the street. At Third and Mission James Ginty had a liquor store. . . Then came Dengler & Breiling, butchers. Next to them was the barber shop of Huck & Hochbaum; then Harris Hyman's cigar store; J. Seidl's candy store. Then J. Lindecker, the tailor; W. B. Dolan's liquor store. At the corner of Third and Minna, Carroll Bros. had a grocery. 147, upstairs, Mrs. Duhart had a dressmaking store. Downstairs, Sheppard Bros. had a plumbing shop. . . (Roxburgh, July 1929: 11).

It is in the **Carroll Brothers Grocery** that we are interested. **Patrick Carroll** had come to San Francisco sometime before 1869, for at that date he can first be located in the City Directory. By 1880 he was 47, married to his 44-year-old wife, Mary, and they had a son who was 8 (their only child). Until sometime between 1880 and 1886 Patrick had worked as a porter at the Mission Woolen Mills. But by 1886 Patrick had quit this job and had gone into business for himself as a grocer, along with his brother Thomas. Neither brother lived on their store's premises.

Thomas lived at 1206 Guerrero, and Patrick lived nearby at 157 Minna.

The house at 158 Minna was relatively spacious for its number of occupants, at least in comparison with many of the other houses on EB-2. Its size measured 20 by 40 feet from the 1887 Sanborn Map, and it occupied a site adjoining the boundary line of the Yerba Buena Center. Three stories tall, and lacking a basement, its lower floor had a shop of unknown character. It was over this shop, in the two stories above, that Patrick Carroll and his wife and child lived, able to look out the window and glance down the street at his grocery. They took in three boarders at the time of the 1880 census. **Judith Concannon**, like the Carrolls an immigrant from Ireland, was employed as a seamstress. There was also **Ann Lennon**, a 60-year-old spinster, for she listed herself as single rather than widowed, who had been unemployed during the previous 12 months, although her occupation is given as that of servant. Finally, **James Riley** also boarded with the Carrolls. He was employed as a blacksmith. But the pride of this household must have rested on son John. By 1895, when he was 23, he had become a law student, and by 1903 he had passed the bar and was an attorney.

Next door to the Carroll house was a competing family of grocers. **David Cronin** operated a grocery shop on his premises, which were a trifle larger than the Carroll house. The Cronin family, though, was not headed by the usual Irish couple. The Cronins, all born in Ireland, save for the 9-year-old John, had come to the new world to set up new beginnings. David Cronin was 32 and single. His brother Dennis, 35, lived with them, also single, and worked as a laborer. Presumably they had yet another sibling, for young John Cronin is listed as a nephew. Yet this family was not without its matriarch. Barbe Cronin kept house. Age 74, she was the mother to David and Denis.

The rest of the three-story Cronin house was occupied by an assortment of boarders, mostly unemployed. **James Churchill** was a plasterer six months out of work. **Michael Linsey**, a laborer, had also been six months with no income. **Mary McAuley**, widowed, kept house for her sailor son, Thomas, who was later to buy some land two lots away. **Mary Leahy and Maggie Leonard**, both servants in their middle

age, were respectively four months and twelve months unemployed. Though the Cronin family had their small grocery to support them, to make them relatively independent (or at least to feed them), the rest of the boarders at 157 Minna exemplify the lower working class in 1880 as found living about the Yerba Buena site. They lived under the constant threat of being laid off, and without the modern safeguards of unemployment, social security, or food stamps. It can be seen why people in the position of the Cronins and Carrolls worked to have a shop of their own, despite the small financial returns, and it is easy to see why so many small shops were established along the frontage of Third Street as described above in the extraction from the **South of Market Journal**.

German Grocers on the Corners (401-417 Third): A consistent pattern of business ownership in the Yerba Buena Center was the corner grocery store and retail liquor store owned by German immigrants. This pattern was observable as early as 1859, but continued to be a pattern of ethnic ownership up through 1880. EB-5 was no exception. The southeastern corner of Harrison and Third Street was both the residence and the grocery store of **William Gesnachft** (sic) and his cousin, **William Hildebrandt**. Both had immigrated from Hanover, and neither had married by 1880. Gesnachft was the owner and was 28. Hildebrandt was 32 and clerked for his cousin as well as living upstairs as a boarder. No other boarders were listed at this address in the 1880 census.

A few doors down Third Street at 417 Third, on the northeast corner of Third and Perry, was yet another German grocery store, owned by **Frederick Brandt**. This corner grocery store had German owners as early as 1861, when **W. H. Hencken** occupied the corner. Brandt was 29 in 1880, and his wife Henrietta was 24. They lived over their corner grocery and liquor store with two young children, William, aged two, and Albertine, who was just two months old. Both children were born in California. Living with them was **John G. Lawlor**, a California-born Irishman, who clerked in their store. There was a one-story addition to the grocery store, along Perry Street, that may have been the living quarters for their clerk. A small two-story addition had also been built

in back of the square two-story shop, so that the small lot was completely built over.

The Brandts continued at this address through 1886 but by 1895 they had moved up Third Street to what seemed to have been a more successful commercial location for a grocery and liquor store, 154 Third Street. By 1905, Frederick Brandt had dropped his grocery trade to become the proprietor of the Chicago Wine and Liquor Store at 154 Third and no longer lived over his business but had moved to Alameda—a distinctly more fashionable address. After the earthquake, he rebuilt at 182 Third Street and continued his Chicago Wine and Liquor business through 1910.

Between the two German grocery stores were a variety of small shops typical of Third Street in the 1880's. At 403 Third Street lived **Nelson A. Handy**, who listed his occupation for the census enumerator as real estate agent. Handy, who listed his occupation as real estate agent for the census enumerator. Handy was 51 at the time and was a second-generation Yankee from Rhode Island. His wife, Josie, was only 27, and was born in New York of German parents. They had two young daughters, both born in California—Kelly was five, and Ada just an infant. Handy had a variety of selling jobs through the years. He was first listed in the City Directory as being in "mining" in 1879, but by 1886 he was a traveling agent for mining properties, and by 1894 he was dealing in hides and furs and had moved to Golden Gate Avenue.

The 1887 Sanborn Map indicated that the shop next to Handy's small house and office on Third was a dressmaking establishment. The 1880 census listed **Charles and Mary Fisher**, a Black couple who had immigrated from New York to California in 1861 at the beginning of the Civil War, as in residence at 405 Third Street. Fisher was employed by the Palace Hotel as a porter, although 1880 had not been a good year for him as six of those months he had been without work. His oldest son, Walter, had a steady job as a waiter at the same hotel, and his oldest daughter, Amadel, was already established as a dressmaker. The two younger children, George, who was 11, and Maybelle, who was 9, were both in school. The city directories do not give us information about the Fisher family as to just how long they lived and worked on

Third Street, but the dressmaking business was important enough for the Sanborn Map Company to note its presence in 1887. They may have had a working relationship with a larger family of tailors next door, the Blanchets.

Henry Blanchet was a French tailor who moved from 539 Valley to 407 Third Street in 1880. Blanchet listed his occupation on the census as tailor and that of his wife, Helene, as tailoress. Their son, Henry, age 16, was a dry goods clerk, perhaps in the family business. The Blanchets had an older German couple rooming with them, **John Bethne** and his wife, Sophie. John was a pattern maker, probably in a foundry, and his wife was a nurse. 1880 had not been a good year for either of them, as the 60-year-old Bethne had worked only four of the preceding 12 months, and his wife had been able to find employment for only 8 months of the year. The Blanchet family employed a servant, Jane McDonald, who was born in Ireland. She was married but lived apart from her husband as an in-house servant. She too found it difficult staying employed full time, for half of 1880 she was out of work. The Blanchet family were still working as tailors in 1886 but their son was now with the Singer Sewing Manufacturing Company and had moved to San Rafael.

Two other small shops make up the rest of the eastern side of Third Street between Harrison and Perry, but the census enumerator did not list these as residences. The rather large shop with bay windows on the street at 409-411 was probably a butcher shop as the three-story addition to the rear had a pork packing operation in progress by 1887. Next door at 413 Third there was a blacksmith shop in 1887. The variety of small shops and ethnic groups on EB-5 between Harrison and Perry seems more typical than not of the rest of Third Street in the Yerba Buena Center.

Chapter IX

BEFORE AND AFTER APRIL 18, 1906

A study of the 1905 Sanborn Map for the Yerba Buena Center shows a place physically much like that of 1887—particularly south of Mission Street. At Third and Mission there was the fine new steel-frame Aronson Building; Market Street construction, with such landmarks as the Spreckels' Tower (Call Building) and The Emporium, influenced activity and values. Over on Second Street, south of Howard, the Wieland Brewery had grown to most impressive proportions, but without any such corresponding influence. Most characteristically, commercial buildings and residences on the main streets that dated from the boom of the early 1860's had to a moderate extent been replaced by larger brick or frame buildings devoted either to lodgings and shops or to commercial or light industrial uses that require what is generally described as "loft space." Again, the degree of replacement and the size of the buildings generally decreased south of Mission Street.

The character of the area was changing to a degree, along the lines dramatically established in the years after the earthquake and fire, but families still crowded hundreds of row houses, supporting the whole range of retail businesses characteristic of the solid working-class neighborhood of the 1880's. The South of Market was still the teeming "Heart of the City."

In the letters that follow, one can find the same kind of indirect characterization of the social conditions of the area that one finds in the Roney diary of 1875-76. The writer did not have it in mind to describe

the entire scene around him, but his own general circumstances and character add a qualitative element to what he did mention. The South of Market in early 1906 was a perfectly likely place for a young man setting out to learn a trade to take lodgings. But it was also a place that a young man, even in a low-paying job, would be looking to move out of in favor of such an alternative as the Mission District or Hayes Valley or beyond.

In the Springtime of Manhood—and 1906

Among the South of Market residents at the turn of the century was one William Kortum, age 18, who arrived in San Francisco on February 24, 1906, to seek his fortune by learning the lumber trade. His home was in Calistoga, where the family business was the **Kortum and Fuelscher Winery**. His ancestral roots were in Germany, but his heart was with his family in Calistoga. His weekly letters were part of a family tradition of seeking and sharing advice and observations. His concern for "getting ahead" and "earning my keep" kept him cooped up in the tiny office of the lumber yard on Channel Street instead of out in the yard itself where the physical work of carpentry and handling the wood off the schooners from the Northwest had a great appeal to him.

He tried life in various hotels in the Yerba Buena site, but found lodging-house food and companionship better. He saw the Great Earthquake and got caught up in the booming lumber business that followed during the reconstruction of the city.

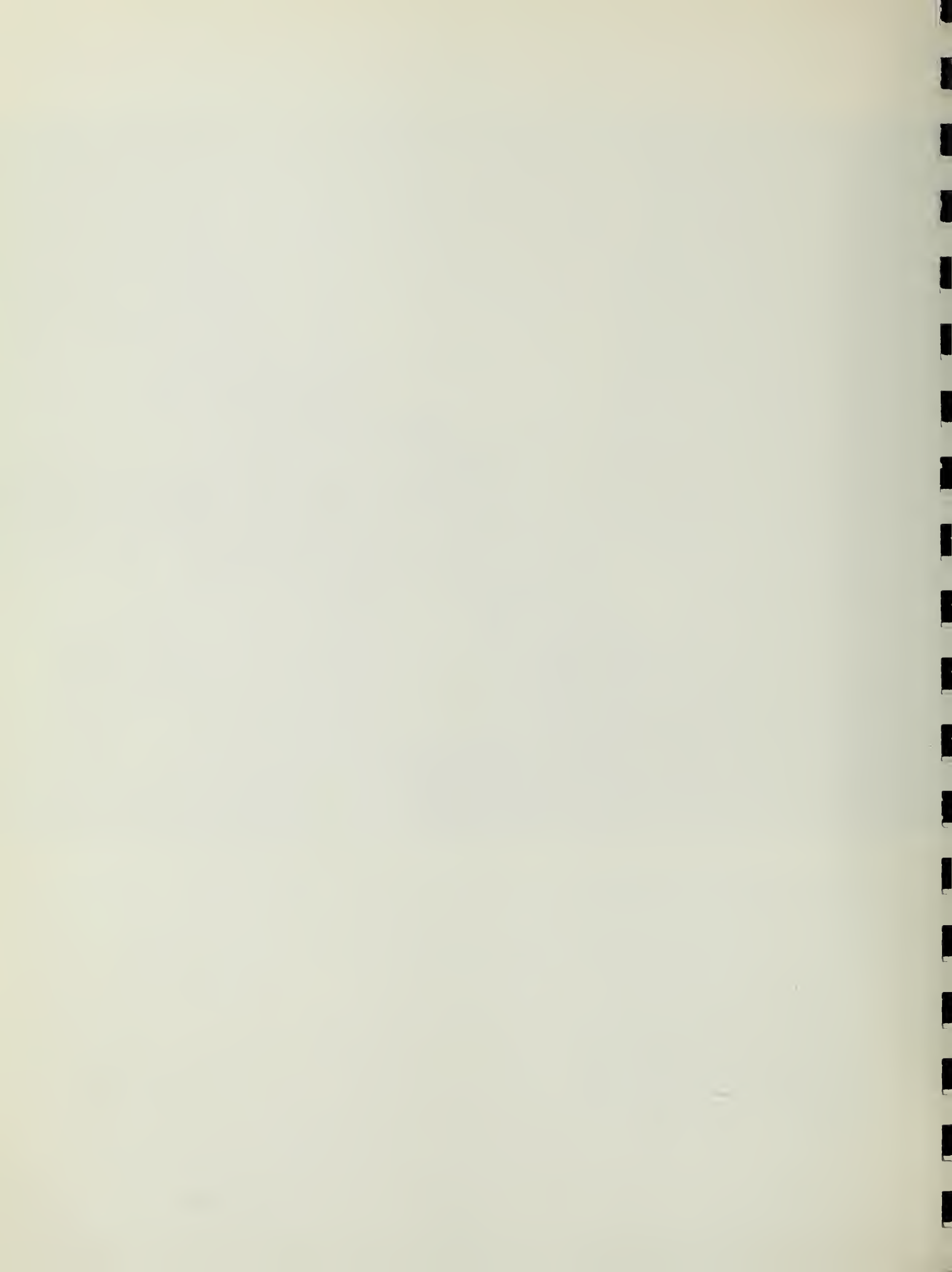
His letters read almost as if written by a model Horatio Alger son. His love for nature and for music found opportunity for expression in the concerts in the park and even in the crevices of the lumber piles. He drew, he wrote, and he was part of the South of Market scene at the turn of the century.



Plate 46: The Last Days of Old Market Street

. . . The south side of Market Street, from the Palace Hotel (right) to the waterfront at East Street, was eminently Victorian at the turn of the century. The new Ferry Building (1896) and new 10- and 12-story buildings on the north side of the street or west of Third Street were heralds of a new architectural era.

It should be noted that Market Street beautification had at this time resulted in removal of the telegraph and telephone poles, with their tiers of cross-arms, that trolley wires were not present, and that the automobile was just around the corner (perhaps on New Montgomery, at the carriage entrance to the Palace).



Feb 24, 1906

Dear Papa

When I arrived here this morning it was pouring. The first purchase I made was an umbrella. If the weather had been more favorable I might have visited several hotels before taking rooms, but as the first one suited me pretty well, I took it. The hotel is one of the three which you wrote down for me, namely

The Rio Vista Hotel
253 Third Street
Room 614

The price is \$2.50 per week as all \$2.00 rooms were occupied. The latter rooms are hall chambers with no light.

The hotel is a new one, not entirely completed and everything is neat and clean, although not large.

Afterwards I visited another house and found \$2.00 rooms but very dirty and musty smelling.

I guess meals will be about \$3.50, so that I cannot save anything at first but if the position is good I will get better wages soon as the "Boss" told me Tuesday..

I visited the yard (F. K. Wood Lumber Company yard on Channel Creek) and found everything all right to begin Monday, although I do not know what my occupation will be. . . .

My room is very light, has hot and cold water, double bed, bureau, wash stand, chair and small table. Also closet for clothes, etc.

Please write soon as I am getting homesick already.

With Love To All

Willie

March 3, 1906

Dear Papa

Tonight I received my first pay (\$5.00).

I like my position as well as ever. I do not think the salary is too small for a beginner, but after working here a week and talking with the clerks, bosses, etc., I find that it is not what I want in as much as I cannot work my way ahead and my chances to learn the lumber trade are limited. Now do not think I will throw it over or even hint to anyone of leaving before being sure of something more to my desire.

I know from Chicago experience what it is to run around seeking for employment.

It could hardly be expected to stumble into the very place which you wished to obtain, after being in a new place a few hours only.

As I mentioned before, I like my work, but I find that the correcting and checking and copying that I am now doing will be my occupation as long as I shall stay there.

The boy they employed before me occupied this position three years and then quit.

I find more and more that the only way to work yourself up is to begin at the bottom.

Just as Mr. Duthie in Chicago told me, the day I commenced work at Mears:

"Without a thorough knowledge of the grade, the measurements, and the handling of the lumber, you can never work yourself up."

George Macdonald, the present clerk, a bright and very competent lumberman, the man who runs the whole yard and who in my estimation would be able to start a yard any day, informed me that he worked four years in the yards as sorter, tallyman, etc.

He was greatly surprised when I told him that I proposed to learn the trade and said, "There is never too much to do here in the office for you. Why don't you get a place in the yards?"

A tallyman here in San Francisco earns \$3.50 per day and while it would take quite a while to work yourself up to that position, I believe it would pay.

I went around to Pope & Talbot, the largest retail yard in San Francisco, this afternoon and they told me to call again in a week or so and they expected to have something for me.

I hope you will not think that I am already beginning to jump from one opportunity to another, for you said yourself when I was in Calistoga:

"Take whatever you can get at first and afterwards you'll see if it suits you or not."

You had to work your way up in Los Angeles as you have often told us, and I don't see why I shouldn't work hard when you had to and have to yet.

March 5, 1906

Monday, 6 p.m.

Dear Mama

I have just received your letter and feel very bad about the thought that you may never have received one from me since I have been here.

You were the first one of whom I thought when I felt so homesick, the day after leaving you all at Calistoga and I sat down and wrote you a long, long letter that Sunday. . . .

Yesterday morning I took a bath at the Rio Vista Baths, which costs 12 1/2 cents, or two tickets for a quarter.

I ate dinner in the Golden West Hotel which cost thirty-five cents, a price I never paid before since being in the city.

It was raining very little and I thought I would take the risk and my umbrella and visit the Park.

However on the way out, the storm steadily increased and I arrived at the Hayes Street (I believe) entrance in a terrific downpour.

I crept under the shelter of one of those rustic bungalows erected all over the park and thought I would have the pleasure of spending my afternoon there. But suddenly the rain ceased and all the rest of the afternoon I enjoyed a perfect spring climate.

I will have to write Max, whom it will interest most, of the thousands and thousands of Quail to be seen in every hedge, on every lawn, and around all the benches of the park. . . .

In your letter you mention "our usual Sunday afternoon walk."

That sends my thoughts back to the time when I was one of the party. How we talked of the trees, the birds and butterflies, how we stopped to enjoy the panorama at times unfolded at our feet, how we compared bouquets, specimens of quartz, and leaves with each other and observed and debated each new discovery found in the great field of nature around us. Sometimes when I walk through the crowds of men and boys loafing around the corner cigar stands, hear them discuss their cigars, the merits of certain whiskies, or the outcome of some race or boxing match, I stop to think how narrow the thread of their life is spun.

Again, when I curiously stop to listen to the heated debate or the feelingless prayer of some street advocate of the Holy Church, when I hear their narrow-minded principles of thought and dogmatic flow of speech, it calls to mind the opening words of Bryant's "Thanatopsis."

*"To him who in the love of nature holds
Communion with her Greater Things."*

And in those words and the lines that follow there lies all the religion that man does need. . . .

March 7, 1906

Dear Papa--

I received your letter and was very glad to see that you are of the same opinion as I in regard to the advantages and disadvantages of my present position. I also have to agree with you when you say that to stay a while in the place I now occupy will certainly be of some benefit to me. I have heard since that Pope & Talbot while one of San Francisco's principal lumber firms, still does a greater wholesale than retail business.

If there is such a great difference in handling the lumber, between a wholesale and a retail firm I do not know. Talking with some of the tallymen (all pleasant fellows) I heard that the F. K. Wood Co is a fine firm to work for, giving each man a week's holiday every year with full pay and also paying for holidays. While this is all very acceptable, I do not think that it should factor in the decision of choosing an instructive position.

A while ago in one of your letters you asked what kind of people my "gentlemen of the office" were.

Mr. Irwin, manager of the yard, is a man hard to understand for the reason that he stammers.

When he speaks with you he stumbles on a word, halts, sisses, and finally getting excited, fairly hurls it at you, with such a loud voice that you are never positive whether he is angry or pleased. I think he is real kind all right and may understand him better after being acquainted and associated for a longer time.

Dave Brown, Yard Foreman, is a strong, fat and jolly individual, always joking and winking and ready to give you information.

George MacDonald or Mac for short is a very busy young fellow who is occupied from morning until night. On him rests all responsibilities connected with sales, orders, and shipments and he may be considered the living center on which all yard business turns. He earns about four dollars per day, but deserves it too.

The only other person seen around the desks is Pat, the head of the teaming firm of Van Damme who do all cartage for Woods. . . .

The tallymen or clerks as they are here called are a much more refined and educated class of people than the dirty German-Polacks of Chicago. Old Al Collins, the veteran of the yard, is seventy two years of age and still does the hardest of work and laughs and jokes with the rest.

Nearly all wear good clothes and stiff collars to work, leaving their overalls and boots in the yards.

Rest assured that my present place of lodging is no low class hotel, but a clean, plastered room and that the bed is also clean and comfortable.

March 4, 1906

Dear Mama. I received your letter last night. It is always a feeling of great pleasure when the hotel clerk, in answer to your inquiry for mail, dodges behind his desk and produces a Calistoga stamped envelope. And the long stairs seem a good deal easier to climb armed with this missive than they do after the clerk has replied in the negative -- "Nothing doing."

I am getting tired of this hotel and restaurant life and as soon as my pay is raised will look for board in a private family somewhere on Golden Gate Ave. or McAllister where some of the clerks board and room.

They say that being with a family is a great improvement over hotel lodging and if you strike a good place it is just like home. I do not believe the latter, but then it expresses a good deal, for the young clerk who said it is also away from his folks who live way out in Michigan.

I am by this time quite familiar with all these young lumbermen who are really good fellows. At least most of them. Morris and Will O'Hare, Quinby, Phillips, and Heneck.

The first two are brothers and as their name denotes, Irish. I really believe that an Irishman is the best fellow to get along with.

So good natured, and always willing to give information or lend a willing hand. I prefer them to the common Germans, who as soon as they know a thing above the average, think themselves "it."

March 29, 1906

. . . . Lumber yards and sparrows are closely associated. Out in Chicago, Mears Yard, contained thousands of these little marauders, even late into the winter. Here they are every where among the lumber, and quarreling and shrieking on the piles. They seem to like the cubbyholes and crevices in the stacks and piles and chase each other through them with wild delight. On the side of the office building, right over my window, a pair have chosen a queer and rather unquiet nesting place in a huge gong. Right in its bowl they have built and the more you ring the more they like it. You may understand more clearly from the illustration.

April 5, 1906

Dear Papa:

. . . . I am afraid that being cooped up in an office is not good for my health, for my cold has been steadily continuing for nearly a month now. . . .

The office here is a small affair, of which no window can be opened without producing a draft and while the whole afternoon I have nothing to do I am still required to remain inside and watch the telephone. . . . The small pay I receive bothers me but little for it suffices to pay the expenses of my board and bed but it is the inactiveness of my daily life that makes me discontented.

From eleven in the morning until five at night I do absolutely nothing for there is nothing to do.

The orders that come in are received by George, the men that come around are received by the managers. And window washing and office dusting is all I can fall back on. I would really be

ashamed to ask for higher wages for I hardly earn what I receive. About the time that Uncle's letter arrived, several schooners were on their way from Washington and I was busy on their cargo manifests. Then of course I was occupied for about four days figuring these out but now no vessel is expected for weeks maybe and I have to sneak around in a guilty way when the manager sees me unemployed.

I cannot help feeling that I am not doing my duty, although as I have explained, there is nothing I could preoccupy myself with. . . .

April 8, 1906

Dear Papa

. . . . As I wrote you last night I have moved to 223 Eleventh Street.

A young Swedish woman, a widow no doubt with one little girl, keeps this place of board and lodging and has seven men and boys for lodgers. Will O'Hare, one of our clerks, who has been living here for about three weeks, first drew my attention to the place and I have paid for one weeks board.

The meals are good, at least they are a great improvement on the restaurant fare, but otherwise there are but few comforts. No water in the room, poor bed, very small room and bare of furniture.

I shall look around for something better and wish I had never moved here at all. But then I am not discouraged for this is but my first attempt at seeking lodging with a private family. My moving is an easily accomplished act but costs fifty cents everytime so I must be more careful in the future.

I believe I will have to go north of Market.

April 10, 1906

Dear Mama

I hope that from my description of the room I occupy at present, you do not take it to be unclean, for it is anything but that. Of course the first night spent in a new apartment is mostly

a restless one and it was after rising from such that I wrote you last Sunday. The meals are so fine and such a great contrast to the restaurants fare that other inconveniences are overlooked and then I have a companion in Will O'Hare who is very nice and I believe a good fellow.

April 12, 1906

My dear Max:

While still living in the Central Hotel, one morning I rose earlier than usual and after eating my breakfast, found myself in the yard at half past six.

Having a half hour of leisure time on hand I devoted it to study of the sparrow. Apparently all were in the act of building for each bird rising from the ground carried materials for nest building in his beak. Some flew to the office eaves, some into the gong I mentioned before, one pair built under the stairs, and one in the wagon shed.

. . . . I met Old Al Collins, the Veteran, and Ben the Canadian. Upon questioning them I learned that most of the sparrows built in the piles. At first I doubted their assertions for I could not believe than any creature could crawl into the narrow openings between the lumber. But Old Collins related of one instance when he was engaged taking down an old pile and found sixty five eggs and young ones packed away between the scantlings. Old Ben also said that he had found hundreds but he lies like an auctioneer.

"Look in the old gray piles, they don't like new lumber" was Collins parting advice and while I followd his instructions I had no success that morning. In the old shaken up uneven piles on the shady side of an alley, you will find bits of balerope, string, straw & chips, protruding from the chinks and climbing to such a height will invariably find your object of research.

In moving to my present abode I have gained a good friend.

Will O'Hare is a tall, strong, rather homely faced man, but his profile reminds me greatly of Abraham Lincoln. While he has

the grave expression the sorrowful eyes and massiveness of features that characterized our beloved president. . . .

We are at the present filling an order for five hundred pieces 1 3/4 x 1 3/4 6 ft long S.4.S which is to be shipped to Central America. These have to be crated, thirty in a package, for they are clean, fine stock. These crates are to weigh one hundred & fifty pounds gross as they are intended for transportation on mule-back over the mountains after arriving in the southern part.

Being short several men today, I offered my assistance and was engaged in carpenterwork all afternoon.

I'll bet those sticks will cost that coffee raiser fifty cents a piece by the time they reach him. A flying piece of lath, hit one of our men today and tore a hole through his lower lip.

We are enjoying beautiful weather while you no doubt are doing the same. The creeks ought to be in good condition by this time and your next diary, report big catches. Has "My Merry Oldsmobile" struck Calistoga yet? It is the latest song out.

Love To All

Willie

Earthquake and Fire—Redevelopment by Cataclysm

Prior to April 18, 1906, "the" earthquake that San Franciscans talked about had occurred on October 21, 1868. That earthquake, according to modern seismologists, registered around 6.7 on the Richter scale. "Never in the history of San Francisco has so great a calamity befallen it as we have met with today . . . the people are crazed with terror . . . brick buildings were terribly shaken to their foundations and partially destroyed, chimneys fell, and men were killed and wounded by the falling debris" ran the dramatic account of the **Chronicle** at that time.

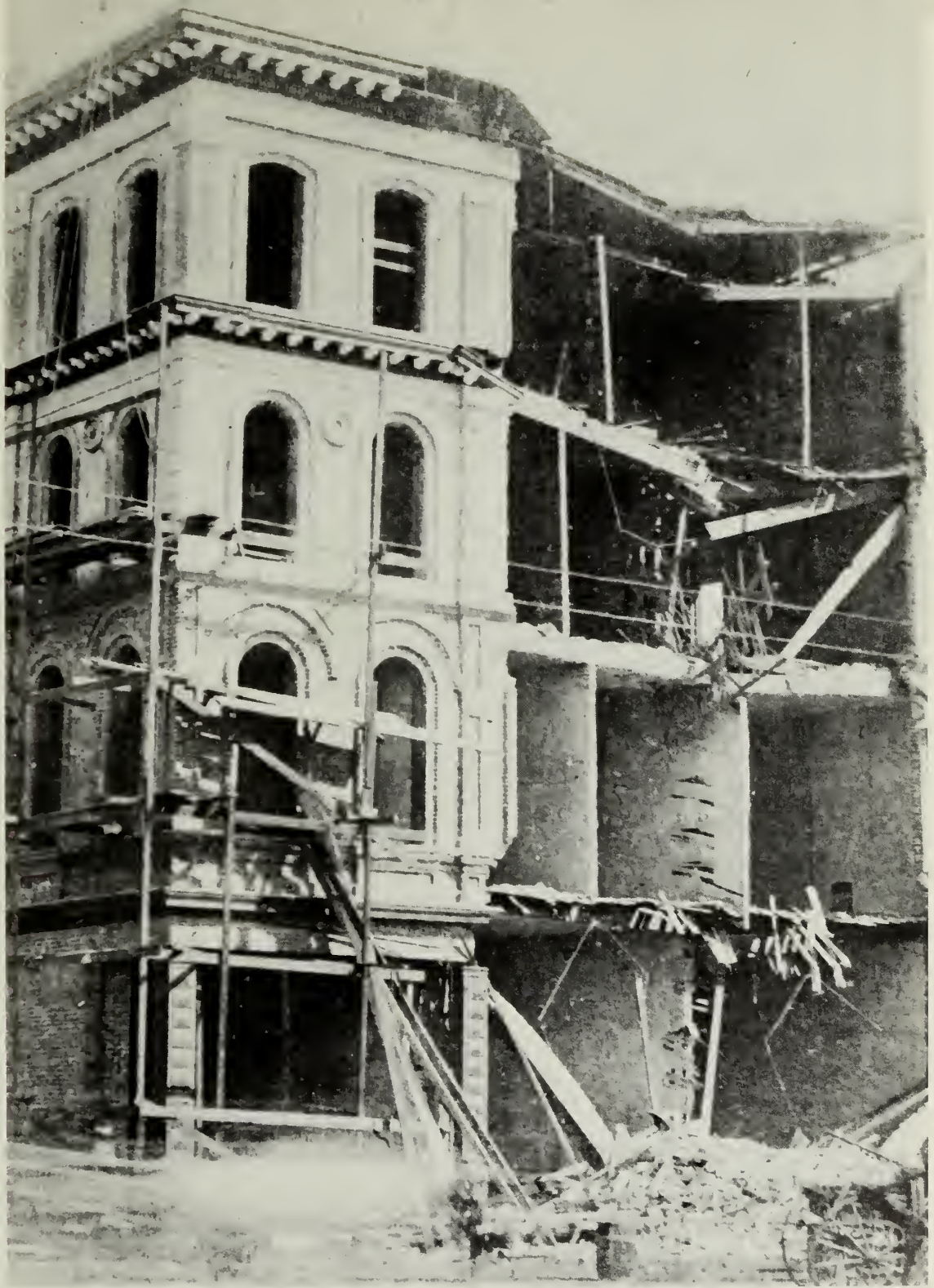
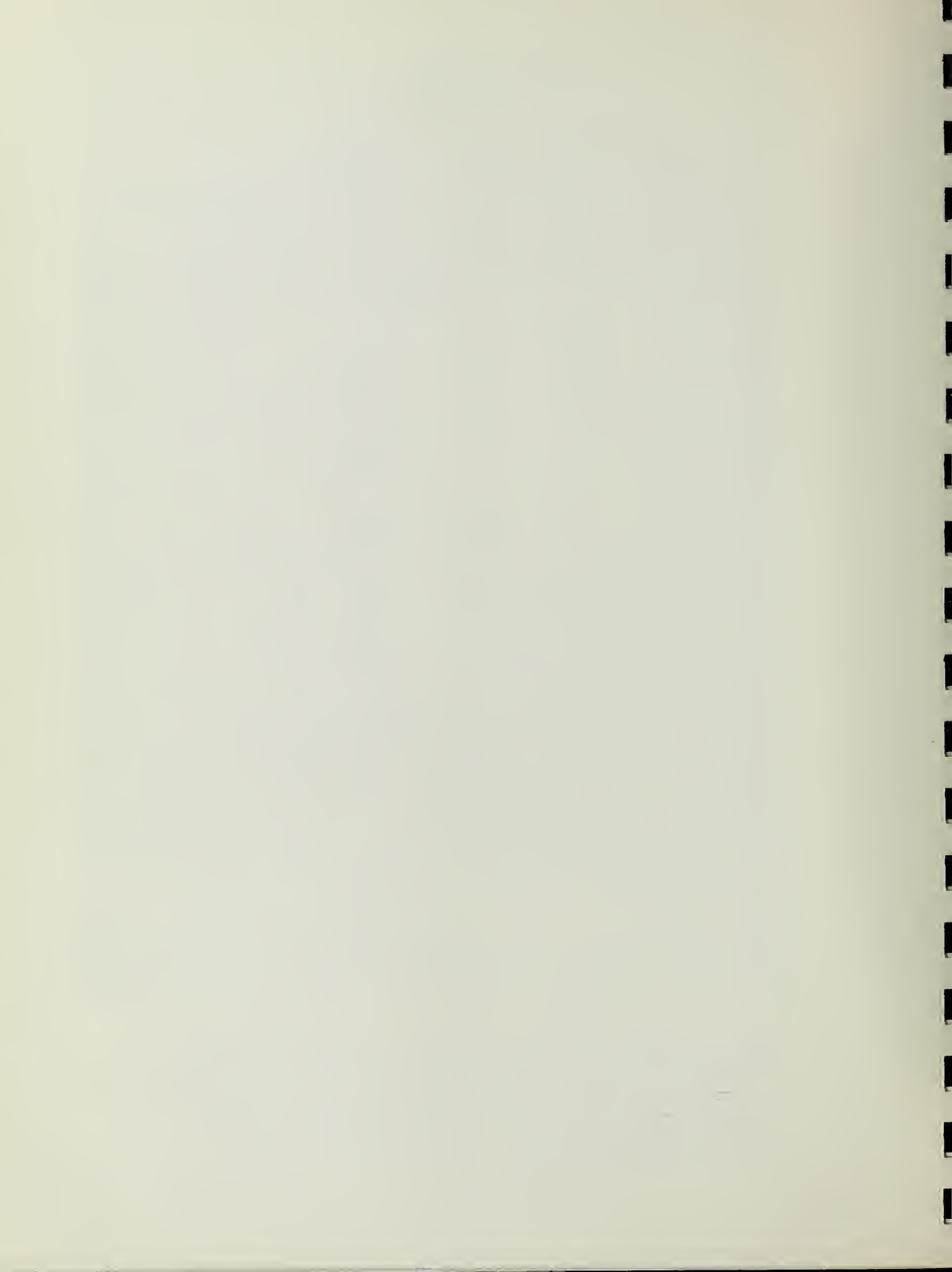


Plate 47: Earthquake Damage at Third and Mission . . . "San Francisco was visited on Sunday morning, Oct. 8th (1865), by the heaviest earthquake shock of which we have any record in the State of California. The first shock occurred at precisely fifteen minutes before one o'clock P.M., and lasted about five seconds . . . The damage done was considerable, but it has been much exaggerated

in the first accounts contained in the press. A few buildings, either new and hastily constructed, or dilapidated, sustained serious damage. The most disastrous was that of Popper's unfinished four-story brick building at the southeast corner of Third and Mission Streets, two-thirds of the front being thrown down." (California Historical Society)



Another earthquake had occurred in October, 1865, about which much the same things were said as about the 1868 shake. An example of the smartness of the 1865 quake is shown in Plate 47. The Popper Building, an unfinished four-story brick structure at Third and Mission streets, appears in the photograph heavily damaged from the earthquake. Nobody was killed, but the event brought home to the residents of South of Market the possibility of cataclysms in the future (Neville Scraps: October, 1865).

It was a matter of conventional wisdom that other, sooner or later greater, earthquakes would come, that it was only a question of time. At about 5:12 of the morning of April 18, 1906, the earth began tremors which lasted approximately 65 to 75 seconds. The intensity has been estimated at 8.2 on the Richter scale. Although to the residents of South of Market the damage was immense, primarily due to the flimsy construction of many of the buildings, the worst was yet to come on that day.

South of Market, several hotels, the Valencia, Denver, Brunswick, and Cosmopolitan, collapsed, trapping many lodgers inside (Bronson 1959: 29). The rescue efforts began, but before long fires erupted in several areas from overturned wooden structures south of Market, which in some cases cut short attempts to free people still inside the collapsed buildings. The casualties were heaviest south of Market, as compared to the rest of the city.

One of the most famous views of the fire shows the intense smoke originating from south of Market, as Nob Hill onlookers watch the progress (Plate 48). The smoke towered to ten thousand feet and soon formed a continuous curtain along a mile and a half front south of Market. With the water mains ruptured by the earthquake, the firemen had no choice but to concentrate their slim resources at the line of Market Street. The Yerba Buena Center area was mostly gone within six hours of the earthquake. The firemen lost the line on Market Street, but fought on in other parts of the city, and finally held at Van Ness Avenue two days later. By that time most of the old part of San Francisco was gone.

The intensity of the fire south of Market caused firestorms of the like encountered during World War II in Germany and Japan. The scene

at Third and Mission with men running and holding onto their hats to prevent the fire-caused wind from sweeping them away is one of the rare views where the photographer got so close to his subject (Plate 49). Another view of the fire, (Plate 50) shows wild flames consuming a six-story building on the southwest corner of Mission and Second streets. The two upper floors contained a printing and bookbinding shop which added considerable fuel to the fire. The first story, where smoke was pouring out, was a cafeteria and saloon. The buildings to the right, across Mission Street, were a small two-story saloon and restaurant and a newly constructed ten-story steel-frame building behind. Their turn was to come.

By midmorning, much of the section south of Market was gone or going. The fires burned through to Market in several places, and thousands watched in fascination as one landmark after another went up. The Emporium, Holbrook, Merrill and Stetson's, and the Hearst Building were gutted. The Grand Opera House and eight carloads of the Met's settings and costumes were consumed (Bronson 1959: 46).

Plates 51 and 52 catch the Market Street conflagration about 10:00 to 11:00 on the morning of the 18th.

The first photograph shows the fire burning its way into the Market Street block bounded by Third and Fourth streets. The Call Building appears as the partially truncated building on the left and is not yet on fire. The History Building halfway down the block has only its facade left as the back of the building has collapsed in the fire. The end buildings on the block are burning and firemen are pouring water on them. Plate 52 shows the block from the western perspective. The progress of the fire has left gaps of collapsed and partially demolished buildings in its wake. The Call Building on the corner of Market and Third was beginning to burn on the upper floors. It caught fire from the intense heat generated by neighboring buildings which ignited the wooden window-frames. Over the head of the soldier in the foreground stands the partial wall of the Sommers Building, which contained the Sanborn Vail Stationery Company. That five-story building has been completely gutted while the frame buildings to the right of it are almost totally gone. The building on fire to the far right is a four-story lodging house. The fire worked



Plate 48: April 18, 1906

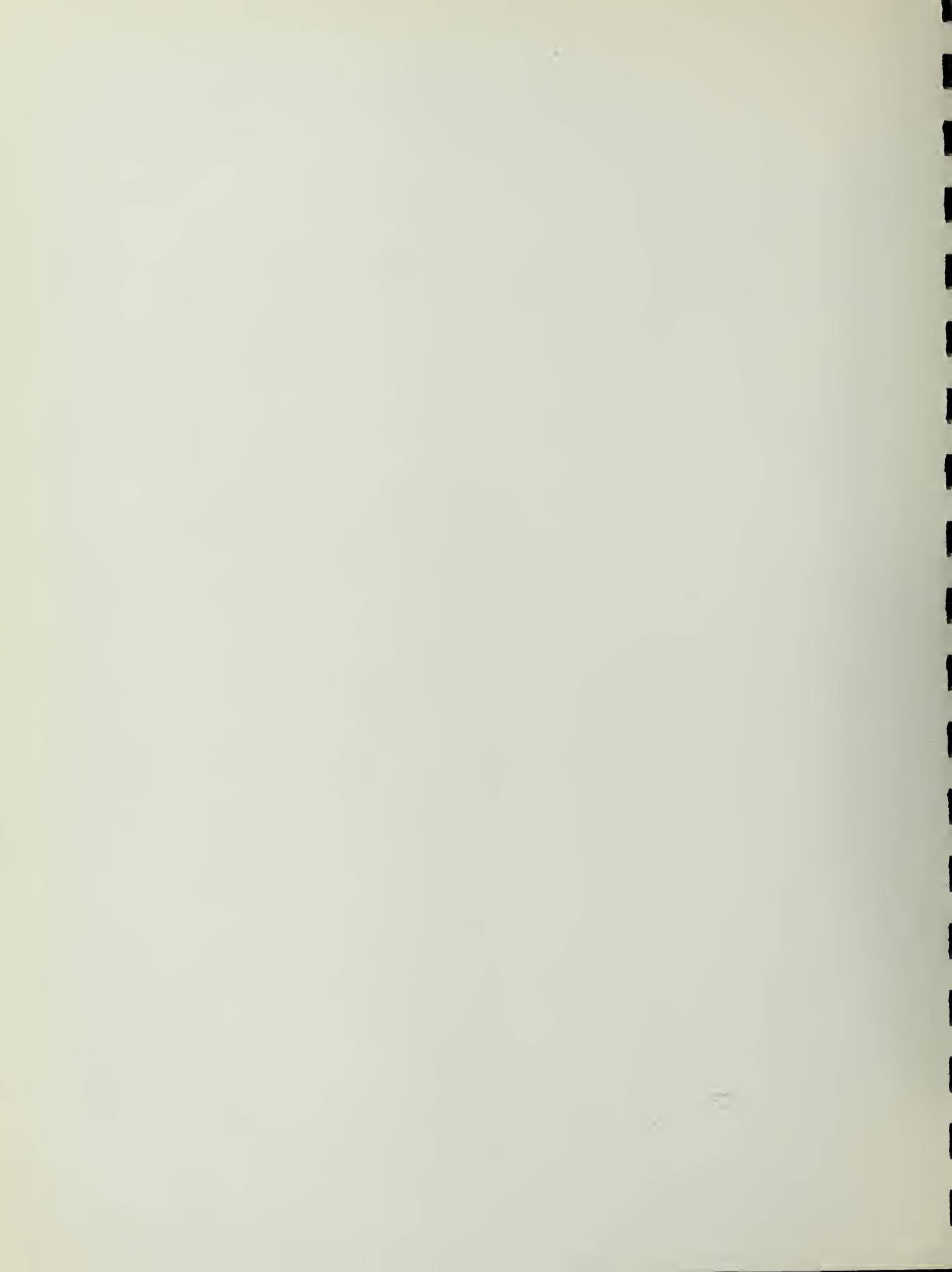




Plate 49: Firestorm at Third and Mission . . . While sightseers thronged vantage points north of Market, "South of the Slot" the fires sprang up at many points, spread quickly, joined, and sometimes leapt from street to street with frightening speed. (William Bronson Coll.)

Plate 50: Second and Mission Abandoned . . . Few photographs suggest the close-up intensity of the flames that melted steel and created new ceramic shapes—for few photographers recorded the South of Market scenes. (Bancroft Library)



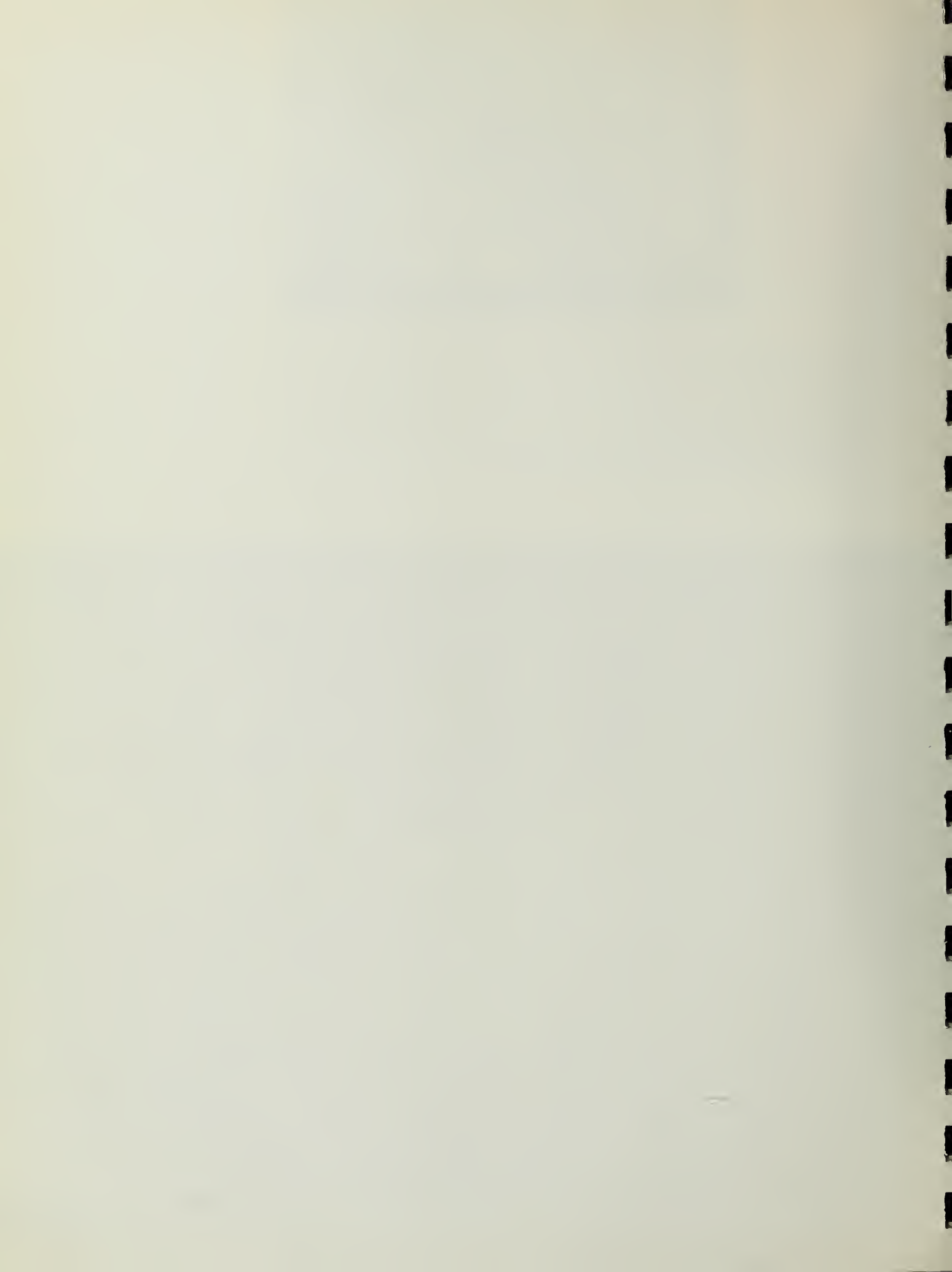
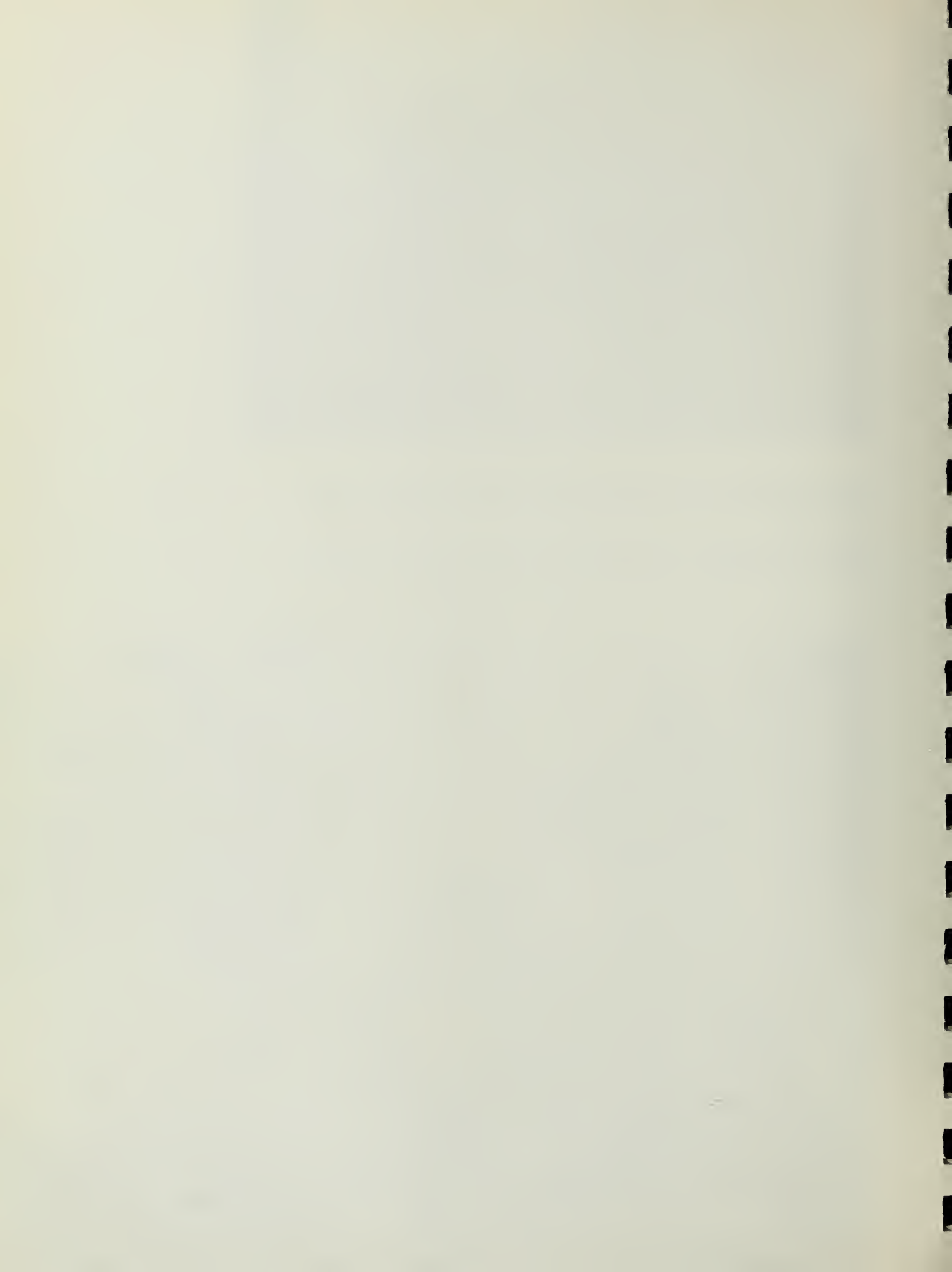




Plate 51: Running Out of Water . . . Cisterns allowed firemen to put up a fight along the Market frontage of Central Block 1—but there was too much fire and not enough water. (Society of Calif. Pioneers)

Plate 52: The Call Building Lost . . . Not long after the picture above, the city's tallest skyscraper was burning from the top down. The flag still flew from the Palace Hotel (left), but not for long.





its way down the street past the Call Building to the Palace, shown with its flag still standing. There was a hope that the Palace Hotel might be saved, but by 3:30 the flag was gone and the building racked by the flames.

Picking Up the Pieces: The desolation caused by the fire shows in Plate 53. This photograph taken not too long afterwards in the heart of the Yerba Buena Center, looks north to Market, where the shell of the Call Building looms over the ruins. Partially obscuring the Call is the Aronson Building, a ten-story steel-frame structure. Next to the Aronson Building stood the Grand Opera House, where Enrico Caruso had "enraptured the audience" the night before the earthquake. All that remains of it in the picture are some brick walls and the arched windows of the western corner of the building. In front of the Aronson Building stand two shattered floors of what had once been the six-story Wilcox Building. Cleanup operations had already begun, for huge stacks of used brick are seen in the foreground. In Plate 54, a man pauses while cleaning a brick, perhaps thinking of the immense amount of cleanup necessary to put San Francisco back together again.

William Kortum had his own version of the South of Market disaster to write home about:

For curious to say, when I stood on Eighth Street, the day of the earthquake watching house after house, block after block consumed by the unsatiated fire flames, my feelings and pity was not with the homeless multitudes but with the forests who in the end would have to stand the whole loss, powerless to resist, bear the burden (Kortum May 12, 1906).

Like most South of Market earthquake refugees William Kortum had to improvise living quarters. Being an apprentice in the lumber business, he had better sources of supply than most. He described his new South of Market headquarters:

The boarders built a fine shanty of galvanized iron and new lumber and here I will live until the landlady can procure a flat. The meals are very good and plentiful, although a great contrast with home cooking. The shanty is very large and I have a bed to myself with plenty of blankets. The landlady cooks for us and will charge each boarder only 25¢ per day as long as the on hand food supply lasts. When she

starts to buy, which will be in the near future, she will have to charge more although she says that she will be very considerate. This is very good of her and of great advantage to us for it may be several weeks before we can expect any pay at the yard although every man's wages will be settled in due time (Kortum April 28, 1906).

The corrugated metal lean-tos in Plate 55 show the type of temporary shelters thrown up that included everything from tents, coffee pots, stoves, cast-iron skillets, pails, pans, and rocking chairs. The dining bower seemed modeled on a large newspaper stand, open on one side, and featured a built-in seat, shelving of boxes protected by oilcloth flaps, and other utilitarian dining-room furniture. A more permanent rooming house put up within weeks after the shake can be seen in Plate 56. Here new lumber and shingles are built over an existing basement (perhaps not unlike the Kortum establishment described above). The handy piles of loose brick have been turned into a chimney at the far end and the laborers rest on their work with a proprietary air.

Reconstruction started almost as soon as the ashes were cool. Plate 57 is a view of Third Street about 1907; the course of reconstruction is beginning even before the cleanup is finished. The age of the auto was dawning, but in this photograph teamsters patiently guided their horses in the endless stream of wagon traffic. The tall building in the center is the Aronson Building, with the taller Call Building behind.

Working in a lumber yard gave William Kortum an insider's look at the reconstruction of San Francisco. The E. K. Wood yard, where Kortum worked, was one of the biggest suppliers of lumber in the city; the Wood and other yards on Channel Street had several million feet of lumber on hand—a drop in the sea of demand. Kortum wanted to work in the yard rather than clerk, but he had his wish only briefly:

At first the firm, thinking that the trade would be slack for a while and having an over abundance of office employees, advised me to work in the yard, which I was not loath in doing, having long awaited my opportunity.

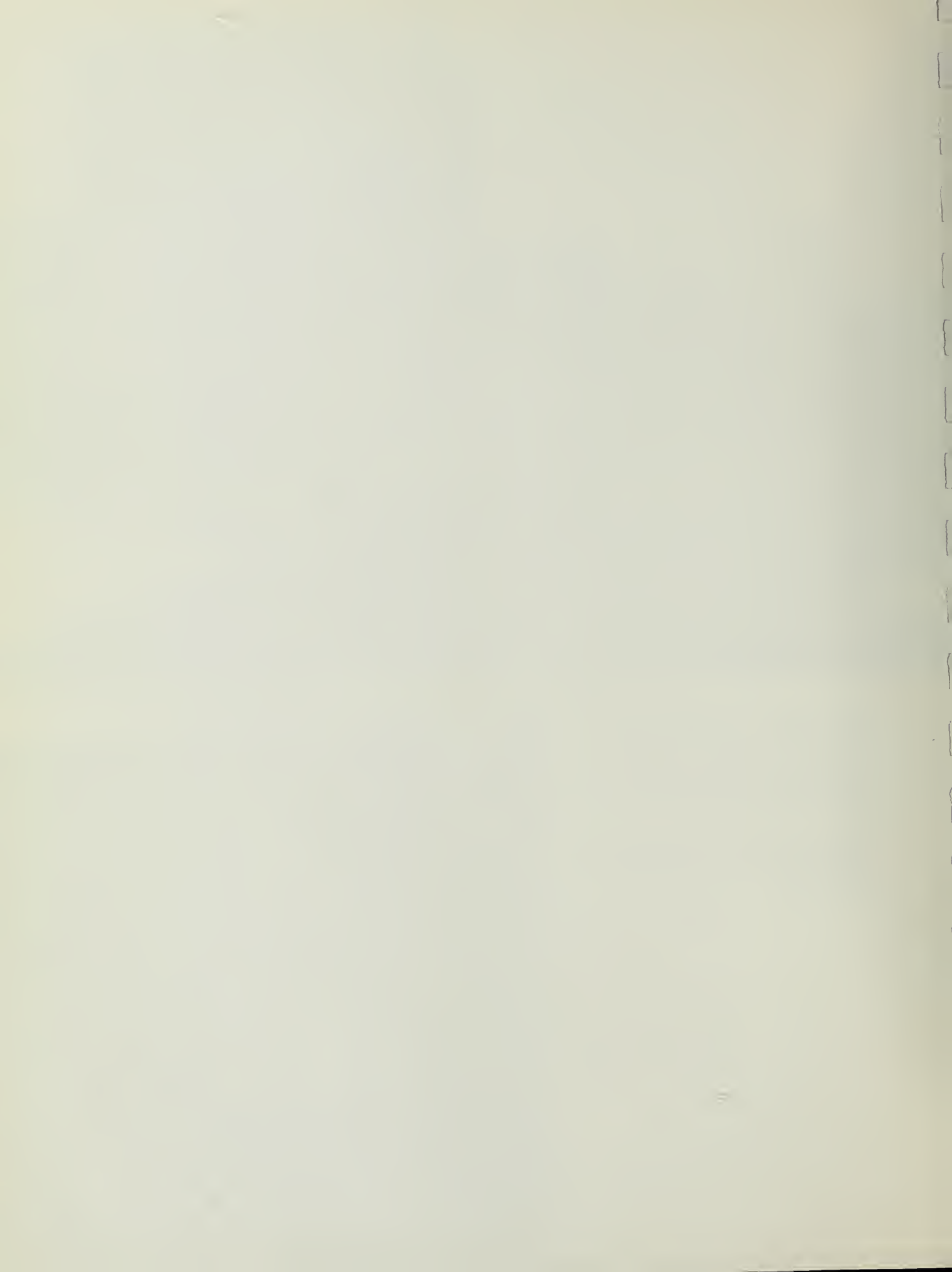
But scarcely a day did I spend at that occupation, for orders and teams came in by the hundreds and now I am at my old work again, only very much busier than formerly. At first I was greatly disappointed, but seeing that everything is topsy-turvy in the city, hundreds of young men out of employment, I thought my self lucky in keeping my place.



Plate 53: Shells of the Survivors rise from Central Block 1—the Aronson Building is at the right, with the Spreckels' Tower at Third and Market streets beyond. St. Patrick's, at the far left, was a remnant, rather than a shell. (Wells Fargo History Room)

Plate 54: Brickmaking . . . There was no shortage of used brick South of Market—and plenty of demand for it. (National Maritime Museum, S.F.)





As my work is much harder than before the fire I shall demand more pay in the future and as soon as things get settled apply for work in the yard again.

On one morning we sell more lumber than in a week before the fire and the lumber firms must all be getting rich.

Of course payment is doubtful and all trade is a matter of lottery at present, but they seem to feel confident of getting their pay.

I am now sitting on a high lumber pile, in the warmth of the mid-day sun. Just opposite to our yard office, the busiest place south of the channel, except the Union Iron Works. Below me dozens of teamsters are impatiently waiting for one o'clock to get their loads, while the tired and overworked tallymen and yard hands, their dinner over, are lying outstretched on piles or lounging in doorways. Some of these teams have stood here for several hours and as many more may pass away before they leave with their loads.

Lumber dealers estimate the quantity of lumber needed to rebuild San Francisco as it formerly stood at three billion feet.



California Ele
WORKS
PACIFIC COAST A
WESTERN I. E.

Plate 55: Post-Fire Housing on Eastern Block 4 . . . Looking west from Hawthorne Street, south of Folsom, the photographer has caught a view of by no means the worst of post-fire accommodations. The electrical works, with its huge water tank and sprinkler system, and with no adjoining buildings, had survived the fire, apparently intact. (Wells Fargo History Room)

Plate 56: More South of Market Shelter . . . This structure in the wasteland may have housed some reconstruction business firm—though usually the sign painter was at work by this stage.





Chapter X

REBUILDING THE SOUTH OF MARKET

By perhaps the most curious coincidence in the history of city planning, the 1906 fire that almost completely destroyed more than 2800 acres--490 blocks--of San Francisco occurred at precisely the moment when a comprehensive city-wide redevelopment proposal had just been completed. Daniel Burnham's **Report on the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco**, a detailed proposal with over 200 pages of text, photographs, drawings, and maps, was so hot off the press that most of the edition burned up with the City Hall. This plan "presented to the Mayor of San Francisco"--an organization including such luminaries as James D. Phelan, E. W. Hopkins, Henry J. Crocker, Leon Sloss, William G. Irwin, R. B. Hale, and P. N. Lilienthal--was not intended as a visionary proposal, but as a practical expression of major improvements in the layout of arterials, public squares and points, parks and playgrounds, treatment of underdeveloped or undeveloped hills, and other realizable development that could project San Francisco into the future "City Beautiful."

Burnham, touring France when the earthquake struck, received a telegram from San Francisco reading "Come at once!" He took ship immediately, and reached his Chicago headquarters by May 1st (Scott 1959: 112). Burnham was not the only builder heading West. Young Lillian Remillard, inheritor of half a dozen brickyards around San Francisco Bay, and at that time engaged in renting a suitable New York mansion in which to pursue her studies toward an operatic career, informed her astonished mother that San Francisco brick looked more important than Italian opera, and packed for the Pacific (Remillard, 1970). No doubt

Miss Remillard arrived in the stricken city before Burnham—but even if she did not, it may be said that she won the symbolic race. In the weeks and months that followed, San Francisco investors found they had more use for Remillard's bricks than for Burnham's plans.

Despite the widespread civic support for the general concepts of the Burnham plan, with its magnificent diagonal parkways and circumferential boulevards that would make the metropolis of the Pacific the worthy rival of L'Enfant's Washington or Baron Haussmann's Paris, the brutal fact was that San Francisco businessmen and property owners were in a hurry, were faced with pressing needs, and however they might pay lip service to Improvement and Adornment, they were not prepared to become bogged down in the entanglements of planning a nobler civic environment. Newspaper support wavered, the Burnham plan was reduced to a more limited proposal—and then all but dropped. All kinds of arguments were trotted out to excuse what was at the time realized to be a missed opportunity; lengthy negotiation over property lines and condemnation procedures would have been required by the new boulevards; the very large value of the existing infrastructure—sewers, gas pipes, water mains and connections, streets, curbs, and sidewalks, undamaged transit rails—became apparent; broad and questionable powers would have been placed in the hands of the dubious administration controlled by Boss Ruef. Finally, even such modest proposals as avoidance of unsightly trolley wires on Market Street proved a hindrance to the business of business.

Short-term interests, the business of getting back to business-as-usual as rapidly as possible, quite naturally resulted in all but piecing "The Damnedest Finest Ruins" back together again. More precisely, reconstruction tended to follow the style and pattern of trends apparent before the fire.

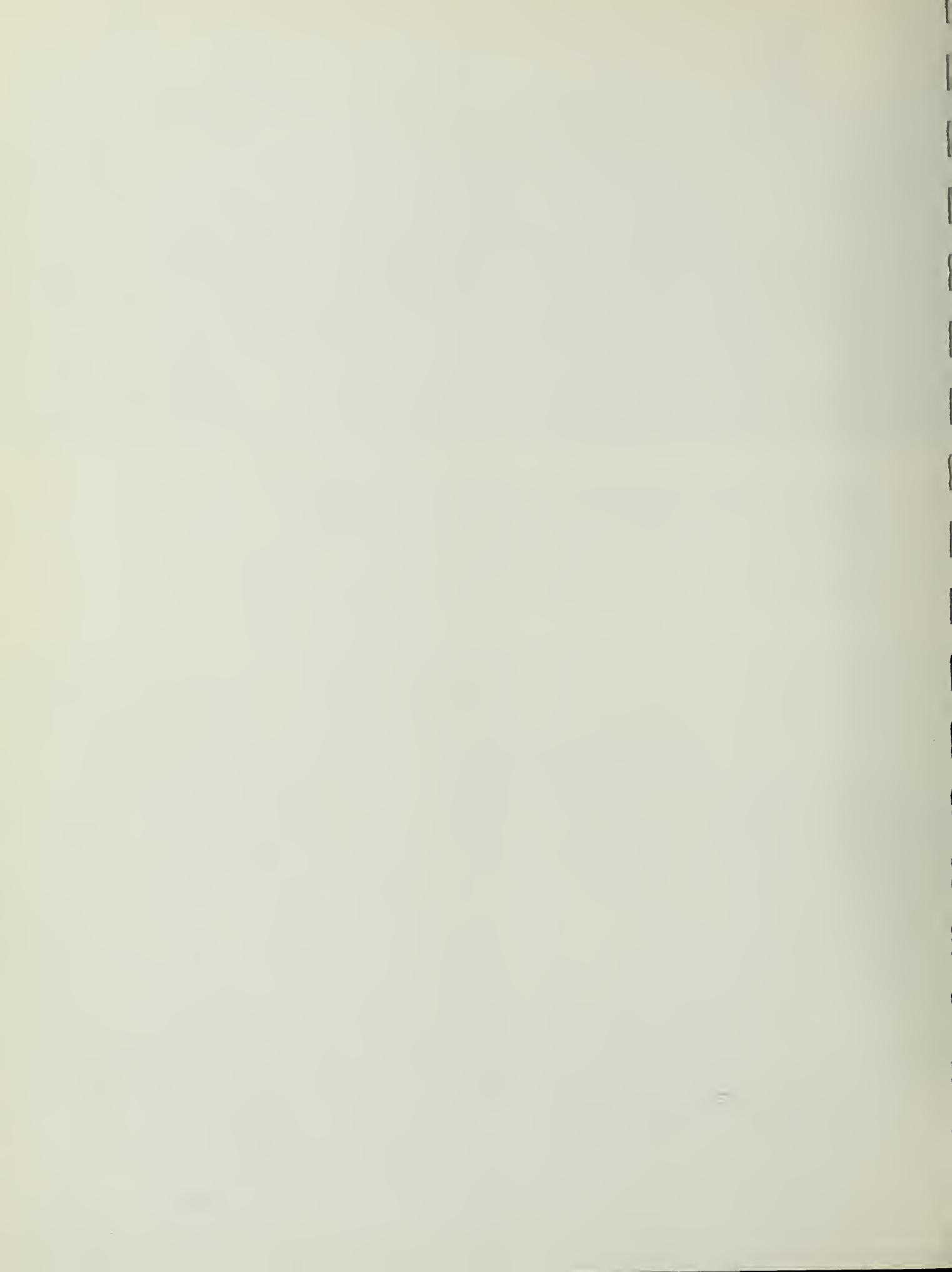
The New Era in the Yerba Buena Center: The Yerba Buena site and nearby areas were rebuilt in a form that had been evolving during the previous twenty years. The earthquake and fire accelerated this trend away from individual family dwellings of the working and middle classes



Plate 57: View on Third Street; Wagons and Drays that Rebuilt the City . . . The Third Street trolley was back on the run when this photograph was taken in 1906—but while the load of lumber speaks of rebuilding, there are so far only new sheds in view. The one-horse carts are collecting used brick, and perhaps debris. As in any boom town, the ad man has been at work, here with new posters on old walls. (Society of Calif. Pioneers)

Plate 58: Reconstruction on Third . . . The photographer is looking north from Howard; the Hotel West marks the corner of Natoma. (Bancroft Library)





toward business and light industry intermixed with inexpensive hotels, cheaper lodging houses, and their support services. The 62,000 South of Market population of 1900 had dropped to 24,500 by 1910—and of those, 80% were single males (Averbach 1973: 203).

The exception to the departure of family life in the Yerba Buena Center after the 1906 disaster was on Central Block 4, south of Folsom and north of Harrison, between Third and Fourth streets, and on Eastern Block 4, east of Third Street, in the same area. The influx of Greek immigrant families in the early 1900's into these blocks will be discussed below.

Transition on Central Block 2: The block between Third and Fourth, Mission and Howard streets was a transition area from the Market Street businesses to the Howard Street cheap lodgings and employment offices for the transient laborers and hoboes. The area had been filled in 1887 with tightly packed small dwellings, churches, hotels, and the support services needed for this type of family community, a pattern that was still in force in 1905. By 1919, the entire face of Central Block 2 had been altered.

Individual family units had totally disappeared and in their stead were businesses concentrated primarily along the northern part of the block between Mission and Minna. Only two hotels and one lodging house can be found on the 1919 Sanborn Map on the northern edge of CB-2. The rest of the block attracted businesses such as shirt factories, printing concerns, gas and electric manufactories, and furniture storage warehouses. Where in 1887 there had been three Chinese laundries along Minna, only one persisted in 1919—a sign that the residential population could no longer support three.

The middle third of CB-2 presented a bleaker picture in terms of post-earthquake construction than the area on Mission Street. The Sanborn Map showed about one third of the block vacant, while the rest was interspersed with businesses, lodging houses, and hotels. On the east side fronting Third Street was the **Hotel West**, constructed after the 1906 disaster on the ruins of a one-story building containing shops, a saloon,

and restaurant. Plate 58 shows the hotel not more than a year after the earthquake, complete with saloon advertising "Wredens Anna Belle Larger." The other shops below the hotel contained restaurants, shoe and clothing stores, plus a plumbing business. The low building just to the right of the hotel first held a nickelodeon in 1912, and later became a feature-film picture theatre as the march of invention pressed on. The structures behind the steel frame, to the right of center, are the **Aronson Building** and the taller **Call Building** on Market Street. The carpenter sawing a board, the passing wagons and drays, and the construction rubbernecks give the photograph a sense of lively activity.

The other end of the block did not have the same hectic quality of reconstruction, for all that had been built there by 1912 was a corner saloon on Fourth and Minna. By 1919, the corner of Fourth and Natoma harbored another saloon, plus a restaurant, a repair shop, and a "clean and dye" establishment. A vacant lot separated the two structures, where small shops had operated prior to the fire. The rest of the block consisted of machine shops, printers, plumbers, and electrical shops. Besides the Hotel West, six other lodging houses appeared in 1919, which helped to support the only Chinese laundry in the area. The buildings varied between one and three stories, but no higher.

The transition from a business-dominated block to one that was dominated by lodging houses became complete on the most southerly portion of CB-2. While there was an iron and steel concern on Howard, in the middle of the block, and a printing shop behind on Natoma, the Howard Street frontage was taken up by hotels, lodging houses, and support businesses catering to the needs of transient men. The business included a proliferation of secondhand stores, pawn shops, barber shops, saloons and restaurants, and shoe repair shops. Perhaps even more a sign of the change was the appearance of three employment offices along the north side of Howard Street. Averbach noted the employment agencies and described their practices:

Howard Street, between Third and Fourth, became South of Market's other activity "stem." Here, unlike Third Street, men spent more time out on the street, looking at the blackboards advertising work, drinking and pitching pennies



Plate 59: Detail from Exposition City, 1912 . . . The new South of Market was shown in sometimes excellent detail in this birdseye view published on the occasion of the Portola Festival of 1912.

on the sidewalk. Hoboes called it the "slave market," after the invidious practices of the employment agencies located along the block. It was not uncommon, for instance, for an agency to gather fees and send more men than were required to out-of-town work, or for an employer to pay a substantial fee to the agency which he recouped out of the worker's wages. This small section of Howard Street became the core of skid row in the 1930's (Averbach 1973: 206).

Since the 1870's, San Francisco provided homes for the migrant workers who labored in the rural sectors during the growing season and sought shelter in the big city in the rainy winter months. Over the years the numbers of transient workers had grown and slowly settled in the cheapest South of Market housing. After the fire, the establishments that grew out of the ashes along Howard Street catered primarily to this clientele. These migrant workers were not bums and panhandlers, but rather casual laborers who followed employment possibilities throughout the western states.

Thus, the Howard Street sector housed two types of men: the migratory tradesmen, such as carpenters, glassblowers, typesetters and ship riggers, and the casual laborers working on farms, the railroads, and in lumbering. During the times of plenty, such as the agricultural boom in the years before and during World War I, the country could support both types of men in steady fashion. However, with the advent of agricultural decline after the war, and the later depression, the seasonal home ground of transient workers was ripe to turn into a hopelessly depressed area. In any case, the first to be affected was the casual laborer, when his seasonal work was disrupted by falling farm prices, and there was scant work in the summer to support him through the winter.

For some of the men who passed through this area in the '20's the Great Depression might as well have been in full swing. A study on the dependent aged gave some case histories of the men who lived here in search of a living, no matter how meager. For the older men, who either through illness or old age could not obtain a job, the situation was desperate. Illness caught many of these men, like a 60-year-old Swede, who worked on his father's farm till he was about 28, when he came to America. His first job, as a tunnelman in New York, lasted five months. Next he worked in the Pennsylvania

coal mines, but times were bad. So after seven or eight months he moved to Buffalo. There he worked as a common laborer on street and sewer construction for five years, although there was no work in the winter. The economic outlook became better and he returned to the Pennsylvania mines for four years. Then he went to Minnesota, worked five years at farm labor, and then took up a homestead. At the end of nine years he sold out because the wife whom he married in Minnesota did not like it. He returned to Pennsylvania, where he worked as a steel laborer until the wife's death in 1914. Then he tried Minneapolis again, working there at common labor for five years. From there he went to Seattle for a year. He worked in a sawmill for two summers, with no winter work. Then to Portland as a laborer when he could get any work, finally getting a six-months job as a "bull cook" (i.e., kitchen helper). During fifteen years of this moving about he had been bothered by hemorrhoids, which finally became so acute he could not do farm work, the occupation for which he was best trained. He arrived in San Francisco in March, 1924; was laid up until May with hemorrhoids; found a job at bedmaking for two months, was again ill and forced into the Salvation Army Industrial Home (U. of Calif. Pubs. in Econ. 1928: 69).

The use of the phrase "forced into the Industrial Home" is important, for the study this case is taken from showed that these people had a great sense of independence and felt that to accept charity was the last bitter step in life. The Howard Street "slave market," exploitive though it may have been, was infinitely better to them than a relief home or care by one of the benevolent societies.

Another story was of a barber who through failing eyesight could no longer cut hair, and set out at 40 on different careers to misfortune:

First he worked in a grocery store for two years and a half, but inflammatory rheumatism sent him to Hot Springs, Arkansas. Thence he went to New Orleans where he worked with a Southern Pacific bridge gang for a year and a half. Following this came five months of wheelbarrow contracts. The job ended and he returned to his native city of Cincinnati. After a month he went to Tennessee. There he fired a boiler for 12 hours a night in a leather house, but "quit" within a month. Next we find him at Birmingham, doing three months' work as a railway laborer, thence to Memphis, and to St. Louis. No work at either place, he said, and only a week of it in Kansas City. Then to Omaha, where he drove a team for six months. Then he went to Denver. No work there nor in Salt Lake, the next stop. Around Portland he found work as a construction laborer and spent a year on a farm near there before coming to California in February,

1915, "in search of a better climate." He found his first job in California at Bay Point, a four months' job as laborer. We find him next in Stockton; no work. Then in Modesto he drove a team for two months, then thrashed beans for six weeks at Santa Maria. His work with a bridge gang in Soledad lasted four months; he found nothing to do in Los Angeles. As a railway laborer in San Luis Obispo he lost the middle finger of his left hand, which laid him up for a month without compensation. In Sacramento he found no work. The next job on a ditch headgate in Woodland lasted only two months. Back to teaming in Modesto in January, 1917. Ordered to help wreck a building, the roof caved in on him, his hip-bone was cracked, and he was laid up for six months without compensation. During the next three years he washed dishes in a construction camp for three months during the summer. But when winter came the snow and cold hurt his injured hip, so he was forced down into Oakland and San Francisco, where he did odd jobs. Since 1920 he has wandered from camp to camp doing kitchen work, usually on short jobs and losing time in between. From November, 1924, to January, 1925, he lived in San Francisco on his savings and when they were exhausted drifted into the Salvation Army. Although the story of a man, whom misfortunes threw into the casual group late in life, this is a fairly characteristic picture of the lifetime of a casual worker.

Whether they were suddenly torn loose from a lifelong occupation or whether they were habitually drifters, these men have reached a time and condition of life at which only certain unskilled or menial jobs are available for them. Thus, in answer to the question about their last job, thirty men for whom this was not a customary occupation reported "laborer" while many of the laborers, as well as those from other trades, had been employed in domestic work, chiefly as dishwashers or kitchen helpers. These two types of employment, general labor and rough domestic work, apparently represent the final stage of this group's industrial life. When such jobs fail they are driven to the Salvation Army. (U. of Calif. Pubs. in Econ. 1928:71).

The older men got, the more problems they ran into securing work. Even so, the men avoided the charities and stretched their little money as far as they could.

One man lived for thirteen days on \$7.50; a lumber-mill worker came into town in December with \$200, which lasted till the end of June; a carpenter with irregular work said that he lived on 25¢ a day during the winter of 1923. When the room rent goes into arrears of several weeks and the landlady holds tools and blankets as security, the pawnbroker is the next alternative. Watches, overcoats, and even eye-

glasses are pawned or sold. A day or two passes without a meal. When the desperate search fails, the man finally applies at the Salvation Army Woodyard (U. of Calif. Pubs. in Econ. 1928: 73).

How the more unfortunate of the men survived along Howard Street was described in the report. The destitute went to the Salvation Army Woodyard and chopped for two hours, for which they obtained a bed-ticket with a 20¢ meal ticket. The men supplemented the Woodyard passes with free suppers at the Community Kitchen.

This consists of several slices of bread, "Coffee," and a bowl of soup, stew, or beans, "just enough to let you get up from the table less hungry," as one man described it. . . . When they have a few cents to buy food, their diet is more plentiful, though closely similar. One man gave his menu thus:

Breakfast--"coffee an' "--5¢--sometimes mush,
5¢ extra.

Noon--hash, soup, bread, and coffee--10¢.

Supper--stew, bread, and coffee--15¢ (Ibid.: 74).

The problem with this diet was its lack of nourishment for people looking for work, already weakened by age, and further debilitated by a meager diet. The attitudes of these men towards the charitable help available was summed up "in the curious optimism expressed by a broken down clerk, whom any impartial observer would consider obviously incompetent to hold a position. 'Well if I can only get a job, I'll be able to get along' " (Ibid.: 77).

The benevolent societies were only intended as stop-gap measures designed to aid the person down on his luck. Able-bodied men were expected to work, and the 1925 report on the aged went so far as to estimate each subject's **percentage** of ability to labor effectively. Another point of consideration was that the ethnic benevolent societies had fled the South of Market locale, and only the societies that cared for the general transient remained, for the most part. It was no longer the community organizations taking care of the transient, but primarily the more remote bureaucracy of a Salvation Army or Community Kitchen. In 1925, the facilities were described as crowded; by 1930 they were overwhelmed.

Thus, in 1919 CB-2 between Mission and Howard, Third and Fourth, presented an industrial and business north face and a southerly exposure of hotels and lodging houses for transient men. On the east along Third, shops, businesses, and hotels filled the block, while on the west along Fourth was a quiet backwater of vacant lots and some saloons or stores.

The Greek Community on Central Block 4: The block bounded by Folsom, Harrison, Third, and Fourth streets presented an almost uniform stretch of apartment buildings and hotels, and again the small support shops consisting of restaurants, saloons, and laundries. However, in this area a small number of individual dwellings were rebuilt after the earthquake. Approximately fourteen light industrial businesses, such as machine shops, planing mills, a feather works, concrete works, and cabinet-makers' shops were scattered through the area, but primarily on the Folsom Street side of the block. The houses clustered mainly in the middle of the block between Clara and Shipley. A parallel with Central Block 2 can be suggested. First, the pattern of post-earthquake rebuilding was the same as in the case of CB-2 along Third Street, but there were many vacant lots in the block towards the Fourth Street side. Hotels had proliferated in the rapid construction after the fire, but by 1919, three of them, the Clay, the Southern, and the Delmar had been turned into rooming houses. The only true hotel left on CB-4 was the Harrison, seen in the Exposition City panorama of 1912 (Plate 59).

Together with EB-4, on the other side of Third Street, CB-4 constituted more of a coherent community than the northern blocks of the Yerba Buena Center. This was due to an influx of Greeks during the early 1900's. An unusual sequence of photographs was taken by the San Francisco Bureau of Engineering following in detail the east side of Third Street from Folsom to Perry. Starting at Folsom, one would see first a three-story building with a saloon below and apartments above. Next came the Acropolis Cafe and Grill, featuring Rurstaller's Beer on draught or in bottles. Further along was a shoe repair shop and the first of two three-story buildings had a Greek restaurant with apartments above, as did the next building (with a photographer's studio included). At the right

in Plate 60 and the left in Plate 61 is the long, one-story community service center occupied by the Poulos Brothers' tobacco store, the pool hall, a restaurant, and a Greek grocery store.

The three-story Minnick Hotel, in the middle of the block, housed a barber shop, a restaurant, and a drug store. The Majestic Theatre, advertising Paramount Pictures, formed an "L" around the frame Verona Hotel; the back of the Majestic can be seen on Verona Place in the next plate. The Verona Hotel sat atop the Athens Cleaning Works and Gill's Castle Saloon advertising Wreden's Steam Lager. Note the "Enlist in the Army" poster below the shaded window, and "clams and juice, day and night" on the post at the right-hand corner of the hotel. In Plate 62, a glimpse of Verona Place was caught, with its six rooming houses on the sides and the cottages at the top of the grade.

Plate 63 includes the block of Third from Verona Place to Harrison, with a line of three-story buildings. The one on the left was a rooming house, while the structure on the corner was the Napoleon Hotel. Among these Third Street shops was a saloon, a second-hand clothing store, a shoe repair shop, and the Athens Confectionary Shop. On the hotel's street level was a Greek newspaper stand, a barber shop, the hotel office, a hardware store, and the Napoleon Bar, complete with torn awning. The next plate (64) shows the bartender in white apron watching the photographer while a customer decided whether he wanted to enter. Harrison Street was unimproved here, and the bareness of once-fashionable Rincon Hill told the tale of a vanished neighborhood.

Rooms for 25¢ were available at the Hotel Calamata in 1919, located at the southwest corner of Third and Harrison. "Calamata" was the name of a city in the Peloponnesus. Under the hotel, a man leaned against the entrance of a saloon enjoying the morning sun. A "for rent" sign beckoned entrepreneurs in the next storefront, while a barber shop that catered to the surrounding block was marked by the tall striped pole. The price of rooms in the four-story apartment house was already faded on the side of the building. Translated into today's depreciated currency, the room rates were about the price it now takes to park a car all day downtown. The faded sign also advertised Martin Jager's butcher supply

Plates 60-66: Third Street along the Foot of Rincon Hill . . . Taken on January 23, 1919, this set of views shows the east side of Third Street, Verona Place, Harrison Street, and Perry Street at the time that City Engineer O'Shaughnessy was promoting the "regrade" (leveling) of Rincon Hill. Details of these views of Eastern Block 4 and Eastern Block 5 are discussed in the text. In order, the Plates show: 60) Third Street, looking north to Folsom; 61) East side of Third between Folsom and Verona; 62) Verona Place; 63) Third Street, Harrison to Verona; 64) Harrison Street, looking east, 65) East side of Third, between Harrison and Perry streets; 66) Perry Street, looking east. (Bureau of Engineering)





shop below the rooming house. If a roomer decided to move, he could always get a new trunk or an old one repaired at the Olympia Trunk Factory. Indeed, that store claimed to do repairs of every kind. In the one-story building on the corner a person had a choice of either cooking one's own food from the grocery or dining at the Empress Cafe and Lunch Counter, where meals were 20¢ and sandwiches 10¢. The proprietor was doing something cosmetic to the outside, while a man watched. Sandwiched between the two different food shops, a secondhand store professed to "buy and sell everything" and, in addition, clean clothes. The grocery store featured canned goods, IXL tamales and enchiladas, and Isleton Butter. Barry's Grocery also had available a full assortment of wines and liquors.

The view of the Gemma furnished apartments down Perry Street caught some boys playing on the basalt paving. That paving is still in place today under a layer of asphalt and most of the back and much of the main streets are a veritable mine of this once-again valuable material. The open windows in the apartments spoke of a fine San Francisco day, one fit to air out the room.

The presence of the Greek community can be readily detected in the names of the businesses seen in these views, adding a touch of the old country to this new land. The Greek community immigrated to the South of Market area sometime after 1910. The Poulos Brothers' cigar store was but one clue to its existence. That store began in 1912, and by 1930 there was a network of thirty Poulos families listed in the City Directory in the general area. Members of the Poulos family ran a window-cleaning business on Shipley, had a barber shop on Howard, and a tailor shop on Harrison. Others worked as waiters, tanners, janitors, and restaurant workers. This Greek clan may have been more prolific than others, but the Greek community probably grew through the attraction of relatives who had originally settled there. There were Greek grocery stores, bakeries, confectionaries, cafes, and hotels in this area from as early as 1912 through the 1930's.

Behind the frontage on Third Street that was so heavily built up, great gaps are seen on the Sanborn Maps of 1919. Plates 64 and 65 show

the gaps between buildings on Perry Street and the vacant aspect of Harrison Street as it stretched up Rincon Hill. Harrison, supposedly a through street, was unimproved except for a path leading up the hill. Again, as was the case with CB-4 just on the other side of Third Street from EB-4, most of the buildings were situated on or near Third Street and the further one got away from that avenue, the less the density of the buildings. Indeed, one can conclude from observing this phenomenon that the income from the buildings on or near Third Street was not sufficient to encourage construction on less-valuable frontage.

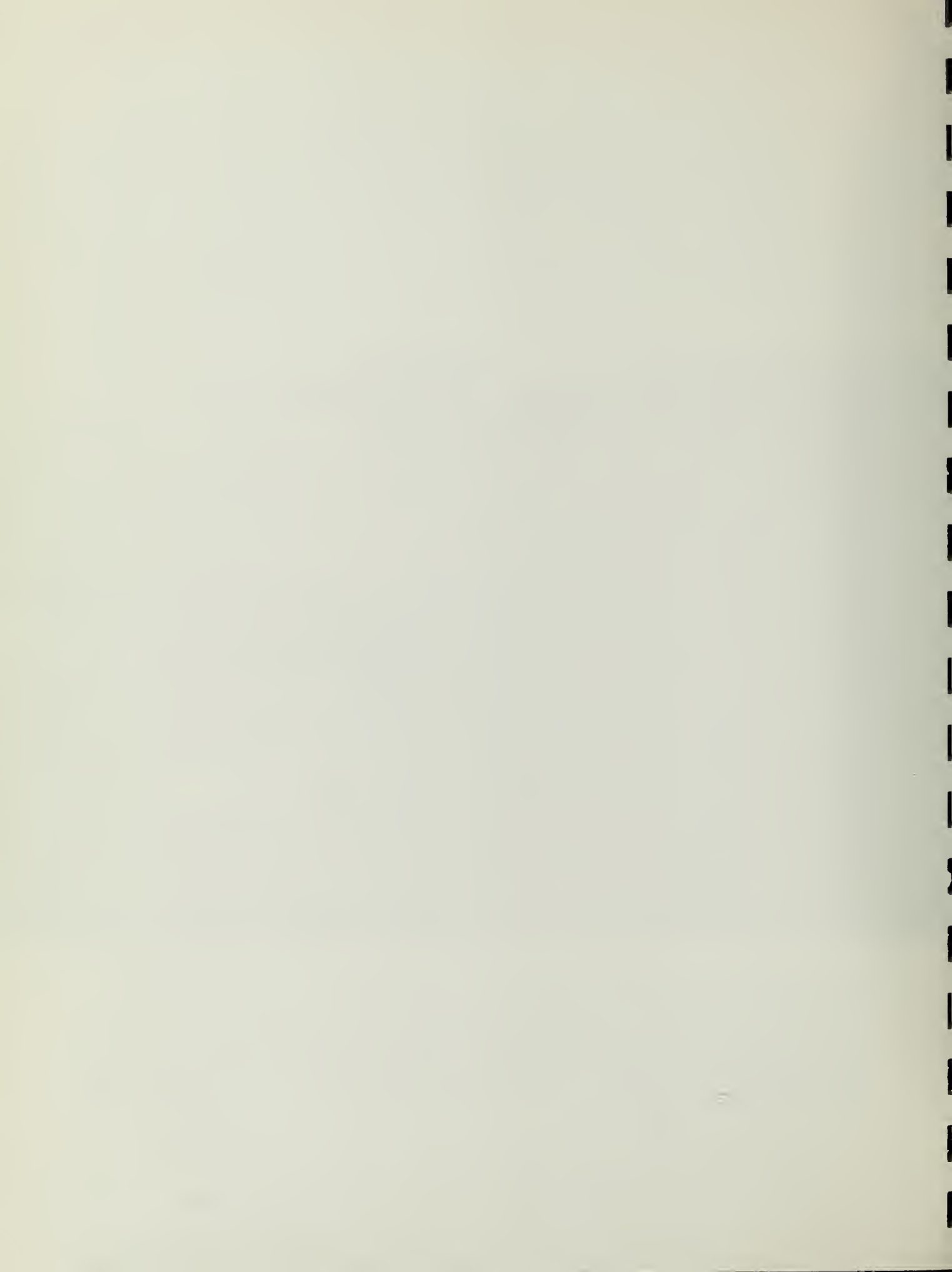
O'Shaughnessy Rincon Regrade: In 1919, to combat the obvious decline of Rincon Hill and the surrounding area, Michael O'Shaughnessy, the City Engineer, proposed to "regrade" the hill. This proposal was entirely in line with the climate of the times, the era of the engineer and the businessman-engineer. O'Shaughnessy was of that era that built roads for the automobile, dams for power and flood control and, in general, provided for the more efficient growth of business. The engineer was the symbol of the age especially when combined with the symbol of a good businessman. In the '20's a best-seller, called **The Man Nobody Knows**, by Bruce Barton, characterized Jesus as the world's greatest salesman. If a person could combine both qualities, so much the better. The most highly regarded public American of the age was Herbert Hoover, who combined both the successful businessman and the Stanford-educated engineer.

O'Shaughnessy had to be both engineer and salesman as he conceived and touted his plans for San Francisco. Called the Master Builder, he had a reputation for being able to make things happen. The Rincon regrade project, for some reason, eluded O'Shaughnessy. His reports in 1920 and 1923 told glowingly of how the project was proceeding "to a point where the accomplishment of the work seems assured." The work he referred to consisted of lowering Rincon Hill which had "long been a barrier to transportation between the business section of the city and the manufacturing and waterfront area south of Market Street." The maximum cut involved was 89 feet out of the 110-foot elevation of the hill. After the proposed regrade completion O'Shaughnessy wanted to lay a network



6398. 4-2-20 RINCON HILL

Plate 67: "Last Days of Rincon Hill, 1927" might have been a title for this photograph from the Rincon Hill Regrade file in the Bureau of Engineering. But the Regrade—last in a long series of schemes to flatten the knob and use its earth for bay fill—was not accomplished, and the present inconspicuousness of Rincon Hill is largely the result of the immense scale of the Bay Bridge and its approaches. The Cape Horn Warehouse is the structure seen at the southern foot of the hill; the roofs of the cheap dwellings seen peeking over the crest represent a large part of the small amount of old cottage-style housing that reappeared anywhere South of Market after the fire. (Bureau of Engineering)



of tracks, add more streetcar transportation, and generally provide for an industrial park with gentle grades. The money for this work was to come from the city for regrading the accepted streets, while the owners of the property were to pay the cost of lowering their property to the street line (S.F. Dept. of P.W. 1920: 26; 1923: 38).

The project failed to be carried out in spite of "numerous hearings of property owners and interested commercial bodies." The cost of the project may have put off many of the property owners, and for the manufacturers there were plenty of flat lands around on which to erect facilities in other parts south of Market. Those continually vacant plots on the western parts of the blocks on Third Street argued the virtue of some kind of dramatic development that would revitalize the area--but they also argued lack of demand for still more level building space.

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Chapter XI

THE DEPRESSION AND AFTER

In the South of Market the Great Depression put to the test the ability of the traditional organizations which dealt out charity to cope with the vast numbers of jobless men. The privately organized benevolent institutions coped after a fashion with the problems of previous decades, but the advent of the Great Depression left these charities unable to handle the vast numbers of destitute and homeless people. The depression of the '30's tried not only the traditional facilities of private charities but, ultimately, the philosophy of voluntary private response to expressed public need, and in the end that philosophy proved a weak reed.

The problem South of Market was particularly acute, as that area had, since the San Francisco earthquake and fire in 1906, more than ever turned into a temporary home for transient workers and casual laborers. The disappearance of the ethnic communities and working-class families had meant that the close-knit organizations of family benevolence also went. The moderating influence of women and children did not exist there. By the '30's, even the migratory craftsmen, such as typesetters, carpenters, and butchers--the men whom Averbach described as forming the colorful hobohemia of the '20's--had located elsewhere. The people left behind were the unskilled younger casual laborers and the transients either too old or too ill to carry on a job with their previous efficiency. Without modern forms of compensation the older men were left to shift for themselves with odd jobs suited to their lessened abilities or, as a last resort, to rely on charity from the various organizations in the area.

San Francisco may have appealed to the transient because of the city's liberal attitudes towards him and the possibility of picking up odd jobs. The year-round wind and summer fog of San Francisco were not conducive to forming the traditional seasonal hobo jungles. Even though the city was difficult to get to from the major jump-off point, Oakland, the industrial refugees still came. The ordinary ferry cost 21¢ for transportation from Oakland (this being before the Golden Gate and Bay bridges), but many of the hoboes knew of a jitney ferry that provided a ride for 5¢. The only other way into the city was to walk around by way of the Peninsula--a long walk. However arduous the journey, some image of San Francisco, or perhaps the very fact that the city was the "end of the line," encouraged many victims of the Great Depression to travel there.

The target for the down-and-outer in San Francisco was the area around Third, Fourth, Folsom, and Howard streets. That locale had acquired a reputation for cheap living plus a certain notoriety for its entirely male society. The depression further changed the character of the area from homeless men wintering over in anticipation of jobs in the coming year, to hopeless men eking out an existence in a skid row. An article written for the State Relief Administration noticed a change in the drinking habits of these men from when "getting drunk was part of having a good time" to "the drinking of misery and despair, the men seeking to forget a reality which was more than they could face" (State Relief Administration of California 1936: 170).

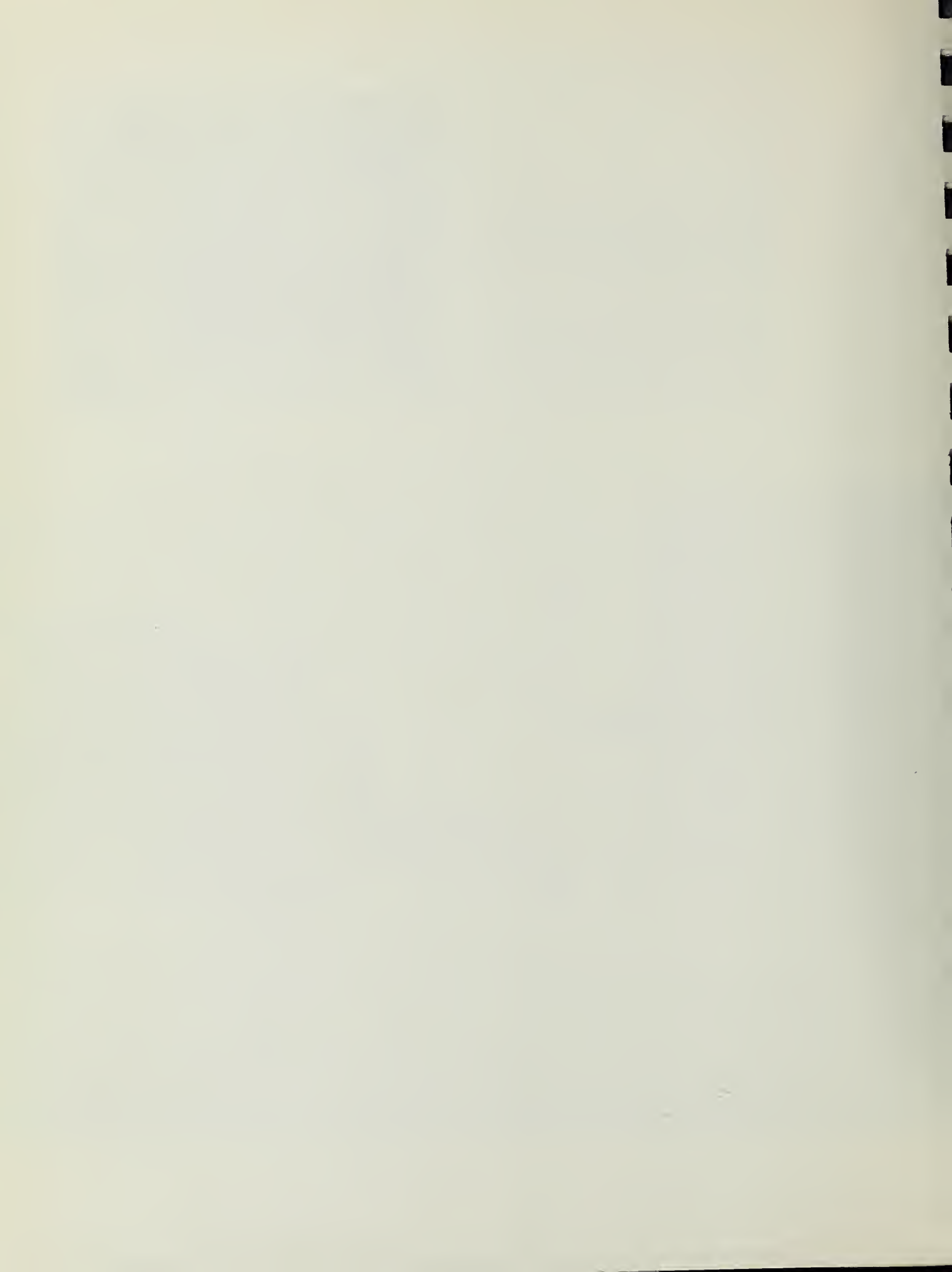
Much of the following data have been taken from the **Journal of a Transient**, written by a participant-observer of the life South of Market, that appears in the State Relief Administration study cited above. This observer was in the employ of the Relief Administration and was charged with sampling the conditions of the times. The biases of the writer cannot be known, hence his remarks on homosexuals and drunkenness may give an exaggerated picture of South of Market depravity as it might have been perceived by a middle-class social worker. However, his journal provides a detailed inside view of the charities of the 1930's and their efforts towards good works. His impressions cannot be ignored, if only

Plate 68: Time to Spare . . . The 1930's turned transient workers into jobless residents for long periods of time, hanging around Howard Street, waiting for jobs that were few and short. (Library of Congress)



Plate 69: Third Street, 1938 . . . The Morton Hotel had raised its rates from 30¢ per day and \$2.00 per week; times were slightly better. But 10¢ "fishbowls" of beer, eats, loans, and shoe repair were still the signs of the times. (Bureau of Engineering)





for their insight into the lives of the transients South of Market. From all indications, the street and hotel life was as seamy to many of the men forced to live there by the conditions of the times as it was to the observer. The reality that these South of Market transients had to face was a bleak existence with no meaning to be gained through a job or family, or prospects of either one in the future. The hotels had one saving grace: they were cheap. As the participant-observer noted in his journal:

At 8:00 P.M. I checked in at the New York Hotel, room #88, price 20 cents. When I inquired about rates I was gruffly informed by the clerk that \$1.25 a week would get a room there. When asked if he had any better rooms he replied: "Rooms are 20 cents and 25 cents. which do you want?"

Room #88 was an inside room, about the center of the house, size 6 by 8. Walls were 6 feet high with chicken wire overhead. The room contained a cot with a dirty straw pad, and three, very dirty comforters. The linen was clean. A small clothes closet contained five empty liquor bottles. Obscene pictures and verses adorned the walls. A list of locations in various cities throughout the country indicated where degenerates might be contacted. A lighted match, applied to cracks in the partitions, scattered bed bugs in all directions.

At 8:15 the reading room contained fifty-three men. Many ranged in age from 45 to 50. There were, however, sixteen old men unemployables, seven boys under 21. All were poorly clad and dirty. Some read old issues of daily papers. Little talking was being done. I talked to a young man of construction labor type, age about 25. He had been living in the hotel a week and was on

SRA (State Relief Administration). He had been drinking. He said: 'Lots of them here are on SRA.' There are few transients. He did not know where the transients stayed.

This observer of the South of Market life seemed to be searching for certain forms of behavior. These were the drunks and the homosexuals, or degenerates who preyed on boys. Drugs did not seem to be a part of this scene, for the observer never mentioned them except when he tried to obtain lodgings in the city jail, where he was housed in the wing which included addicts. It was not clear whether the observer was looking for drunks and degenerates because the Third and Howard area had a reputation for this behavior, or if the writer found this form of behavior particularly odious. He did refer to homosexuals as "degenerates," which perhaps was more the feeling of the times than special personal bias:

At 9:00 P.M. I estimated about 1500 men on sidewalks, in restaurants, pool halls and wine shops between 4th and 5th on Howard Street. Most of them were middle age or older. Half of the number smelled of liquor. Ten percent were reeling drunk. Nine were counted, passed out, in store fronts on the block.

At 9:15 I saw a half-drunk man thrown out the back door of a wine shop on Third and Howard streets. His leg was broken when he struck the sidewalk. A patrol wagon arrived and the cop called a police ambulance. The man was taken away. Feeling ran high against the wine shop among the crowd of 175 to 200 men gathered at the scene.

Asked six men on the street about possibilities for free beds. Three advised the Sally Shelter, two suggested bumming on the better streets for the price of the room, one directed me to a pool hall where I could sleep.

At a cheap restaurant I bought a 15 cent supper, consisting of all meat and starch. There was plenty of it but of poor quality. There were at least a dozen cheap eating houses in this block and all were busy.

I was advised by several men to keep walking on the street to prevent being picked up by plain clothes officers.

I talked to a fifteen-year-old boy from Oklahoma. He is having grand luck traveling. Has had no trouble getting food and a bed by bumming on the streets. He is staying in a "flop house." He has been jailed in Los Angeles for vagrancy, but has had no trouble here. Has not contacted any case worker since leaving home the middle of October. Has had many propositions from "fruits" but claims no experience yet.

To bed in the New York Hotel at 10:15. There was much coughing swearing and grumbling heard all over the house. Numerous drunks came in all night, each waking the whole house. About midnight there was a commotion up the hall. From what could be heard it was apparent that a man and a boy in the same room had been reported to the clerk. Both were taken out by what sounded like a cop.

My room was right beside the shower room for the floor, and not once before I went to sleep did I hear anybody taking a shower.

The transient observer went back on the street the next day to perform good deeds and panhandle.

From the Salvation Army Shelter I strolled over to Howard Street where mobs of men were milling around between Third and Fifth streets. This group of men gave me a feeling of horror, at least half of them were intoxicated, and almost all of them were talking to themselves. About one face in ten among them was bruised or cut. Blackened eyes and swollen faces were very prominent among the group. Profane and obscene mutterings created a din that almost nauseated me. In two nights in this neighborhood I have not seen a policeman, except on occasions when some man was injured or some commotion arose.

At 10:00 P.M. I was standing on the corner of Fourth and Mission streets when an old man of about 60 started hobbling across Mission, near the middle of the block. Halfway across the street he was struck down by an automobile, but apparently not seriously injured since the car was travelling slowly. I helped the driver of the car pick the old man up and take him to the curb. His right arm was off at the elbow. His clothing was ragged and dirty, and he was intoxicated to such an extent that he could not give his name or address.

Between 10:30 and 11:00 I approached three well-dressed men for money on Market Street, between Fourth and Sixth streets. The first gave me 15 cents for food, the second refused me anything and

the third gave me 10 cents. With this 25 cents I secured an outside room on the third floor of the New York Hotel. This room had an outside window but otherwise was identical with the inside 20 cent rooms.

The help available to these men depended on their place of residence, and when the men who applied to the SRA were told they would have to return to their countries of legal residence, and unable to do so, they frequently withdrew their applications. Some of the people who threatened the caseworkers with newspaper exposure got help by this strategem, but for the most part the homeless man could not get aid there. For them there were only the private agencies, which were partially subsidized by public money or the work camps run by the SRA. The camps were anathema to most of these men because of the military-style discipline and lack of amusement available.

Some private charities, like the Salvation Army, did take temporary care of transients. The transient observer recorded his experience with that organization:

I went to the Salvation Army headquarters at 115 Valencia Street. I waited twenty minutes in a comfortable waiting room where a long table was stacked with back numbers of better class magazines.

I was called into a small office by a pleasant appearing young woman worker who indicated that she was in a hurry. She asked me what my trouble was. I told her I wanted care over the week-end until my job in Oakland would begin on Monday. She asked

me for verification of the job, which I was unable to provide. After some hesitation and a few questions, she made out a meal ticket to the A---- Coffee House, 732 Howard Street, for six 20 cent meals, and gave me a card to the Central Hotel, 572 Third Street, for three nights lodging.

I went to the A---- Coffee Shop at 5:30, and for 20 cents received the same type of dinner I had bought in another cheap restaurant in the same block for 15 cents.

I registered at the Central Hotel at 6:15. My room was considerably better than the 25 cent room at the New York Hotel, but was far from clean and comfortable. It contained a single iron bed with straw mattress and clean linen, a small dresser and sink, with cold and hot water, and a chair. The floor was covered with a very dirty and worn carpet. A window opened onto a narrow alleyway. Toilets and showers on this floor were filthy, and the bath was covered with a thick layer of dust.

At 5:30 I applied for shelter and food at the Salvation Army Industrial Home on Harrison and Sixth streets. I was told in the dining room that I was too late to get anything to eat and at the main office, a big jovial-appearing clerk informed me that every bed in the house was filled and I could not get a room even if I could pay for it. Their single rooms rent for 35 cents a night or \$1.50 a week.

In a side room adjoining the woodyard were 48 men and 7 boys sitting and standing around a wooden stove. The room was dark and dirty. This group apparently expected to sleep on the floor around the fire.

Besides the organizations that traditionally tended to the needy, a number of missions had grown up in the South of Market area during the late 1920's and early '30's. They provided some food, occasionally lodging, and frequent attempts at conversion:

Calvary Mission--At least 100 came in to eat the meal that was served after the chapel services were over. There was no money to pay for the lodging of men who needed shelter, but in cases of extreme need a man was allowed to sleep in the chapel. The whole place was dingy and dirty. The persons in charge stated they tried to secure work for transient men and said that 'a man who is saved usually gets work.'

At 7:45 I went to the Welcome Mission at 282 Fourth Street, where I sat through an hour and a half of singing, testifying, and preaching. Deathbed scenes and graveyard stories were out-lined in detail by the testifiers and the preacher. A special use was made of a news item in the daily paper concerning the tragic death of a steel worker on the Bay Bridge job. An ardent but unsuccessful plea was made for candidates for "eternal salvation," while the group sang "Tomorrow may be too late." At the close of the meeting the men were served with a cup of coffee and two slices of dry bread each. Two men almost fought over their places in line and were reprimanded by the preacher. There were 48 men at this meeting. None of them demonstrated any interest in the services except contempt and ridicule.

In the San Francisco Gospel Mission (vicinity Third and Folsom) magic lantern views of Paris were being thrown on a screen constructed of a sheet. The pictures were poorly colored and costumes indicated that they must have come from a collection made in the '80's. The pastor in charge of the mission, who announced the subjects, not only mispronounced all the names, but was confused as to which were cathedral and which government buildings. The men in the audience, many of whom were of an age to have been seen service in France during the World War, were mildly amused when the screen was black although a scene had been announced. The place was untidy, the hymn books torn and dirty; the decorations consisted of calla lilies that must have been picked weeks before, in rusty, old coffee cans. The singing of hymns was accompanied by the playing on a squeaky organ by a fat, very dark Negress, dressed in black. The food served after an hour and a half of service was soup and bread. The pastor stated that twice a week there was also cake. He explained that this type of food was served because the new mission next door served coffee and snails.

The St. Patrick's Shelter for Men did yeoman service and alone, in 1932, sheltered 108,000, besides giving free baths, clothing, and (more rarely) work. The social workers at St. Patrick's had begun to detect in 1932 a rise in the number of college men being forced to sleep there. The appearance of professional men in the shelters indicated the depths to which the depression had plunged the country.

It was the policy of the shelter to turn the overnight lodgers out in the early morning so that they could get a good headstart on looking

for a job. In case the weather was inclement, the transient visitor at the shelter could visit the day shelter next door when turned out of his bed. Here again is the participant-observer writing from a mission on Third Street:

The mission is located in an old moving picture theatre on the east side of the street. It is very dark and uninviting to look at from the outside, especially at night. A welcome sign at the front door states that services begin at 5 p.m., and supper is served.

I went in at 7:45 and found three men already waiting on the back row of seats. The house has a capacity of about 300. The pulpit and choir seats are on a platform at the south end. At the back of the room is an improvised service counter and along one side wall are oilcloth covered shelves where men may stand and eat.

By 8:00 46 men had gathered and when the services started at 8:25 there were over 100 present. Most of the two hour service was comprised of testimonials by the mission worker sandwiched in between very snappy songs with the accompaniment of a piano, two banjos, two saxophones, and a clarinet. The leaders were all very young men and girls, who sang sacred songs to jazzy popular tunes. They maintained an atmosphere of optimism and joyful enthusiasm throughout the service. A short sermon was preached by a young, attractive woman who appeared to be between 20 and 25. There was no response to invitations to come to the altar.

By the end of the meeting there were about 250 men and boys present--the hungriest, dirtiest, most ragged looking group I ever

beheld. They gave one the feeling that they were probably the dregs or residue which had been turned down by all the other agencies in the city. The stark hunger and dejection expressed on many faces shouted out a contrast to the young smiling faces on the stage.

With the resounding 'Amen' of the benediction, a mad dash was made toward the corner of the room where the food line started.

And After: The second World War brought a flood of new residents to the South of Market area as warworkers and servicemen and women poured into San Francisco. As was the case nationally, even marginally viable areas gained from the population overflow. As the South of Market was mobilized for war, the transients who could work were able to pick up regular or odd jobs in a situation of manpower shortage. The older people were engulfed in masses of younger ones--outnumbered by far, and now almost invisible. The cheap hotels became lodgings for war-industry workers in the Bay Area and for the soldiers and sailors who were passing through. An indication of the change in clientele of the area came when the St. Patrick's Shelter for Men became St. Vincent de Paul's Center for Servicemen. The number of footloose servicemen in San Francisco created new problems for the social workers to meet (Averbach 1973: 215).

The war brought another change not previously seen. For nearly a century, the South of Market had been host to a variety of ethnic groups, but only a handful of Blacks were counted in either the 1860 census or the 1880 census; with the World War II labor market, the number of Blacks South of Market increased to "almost nine times the number it had been before the war, though Blacks still constituted only about 10% of the overall population of 22,000." (Averbach 1973: 215) Not only Blacks but Chicanos and Filipinos moved into the area as residents.

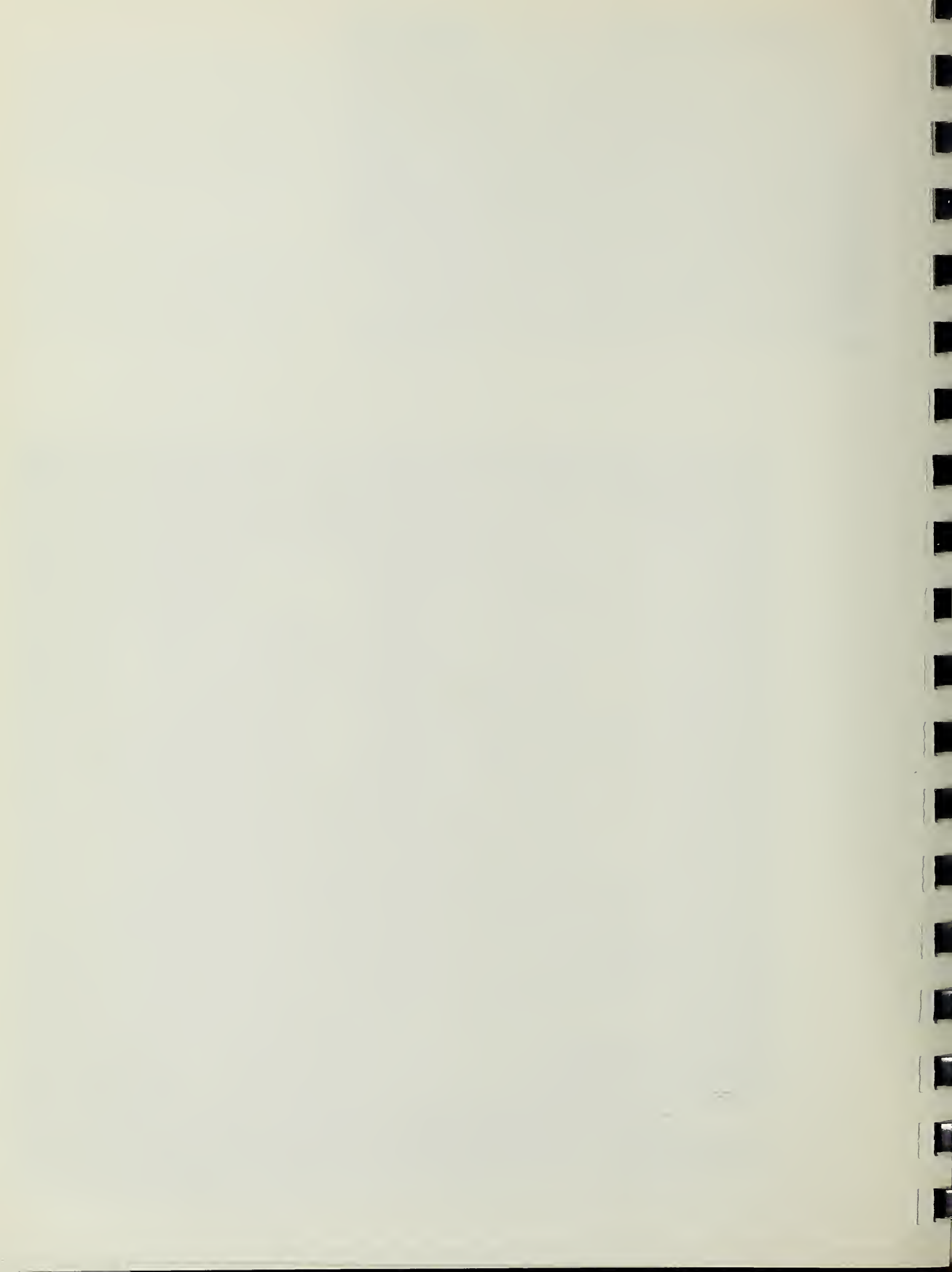
After the war, there was an increase in the elderly population who came to live in the cheap hotels deserted by the servicemen and war-workers. Men over 60 increased from 28% to 33% between 1940 and



Plate 71: Howard Street's Skid Row in the 1950's . . . The poorest pensioners, the unemployable, and the more conspicuous social "write-offs," such as the winos, were those who had most need of the cheap restaurants and hotels of the Yerba Buena Center area in the last years before the site was cleared. (S.F. Public Library)

Plate 70: "South of Mission" was Dorothea Lange's title for this photograph of 1933. The image caught the pervasive despair of those times—but it was a vignette that with a little change in the type style of the signs might have been duplicated countless times from the mid-1870's through the 1950's. (Dorothea Lange)





1950. These would have included many elderly men living on small pensions or social welfare or some combination of the two. The combination of cheap housing, easy transportation, and occasional availability of odd jobs in the sunnier part of San Francisco combined to produce a marginal but real sense of community to the shrinking population in the South of Market. Averbach's figures on employment in 1950 give a clear picture of the makeup of the population in the Yerba Buena Center at that time: "In 1950, the male working population was almost equally divided among white collar, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers, with only 'service' workers having half again the number of each of these categories. This work force nevertheless only accounted for 41% of the male population over age 14. As in 1940, 20% were unemployed, while a full 39% (including seasonal workers, the retired, disabled and inmates of institutions) were not considered as part of the labor force" (Averbach 1966: 216).

It is in connection with the plight of the sedentary unemployable or marginally employed population that Averbach did his historical research with the national Housing and Economic Development Law project of the Earl Warren Institute. The destruction of their housing, completed by 1973, was the occasion for intense neighborhood reaction and a matter finally of general socio-political concern. The emotions raised by the issue reflect a serious questioning as to the older notions of the hierarchy of use, in which it was taken for granted that more expensive development of any given site was more or less inevitable and generally for the good, though the gentle sorrows of nostalgia were sometimes seconded by the outrage of common sense, as when the Second Street cut of 1869 failed to produce its promised benefits after large direct and irreparable indirect expense.

The housing currently completed on the Yerba Buena Center--Clementina Towers, Todoc-Caballeros, Dima-Alang houses and Woolf House--all aim toward a humane response to the needs of the elderly, displaced people of San Francisco's South of Market.

The Yerba Buena Site in 1979: The aerial views of the Yerba Buena Center site included in this survey were made in 1977, prior to the current

on-going construction of the Moscone Convention Center on Central Block 3. Additional housing units were constructed on Central Block 4 (Todoc/Caballeros Dimas Alang House) and on Western Block 3 (the Woolf House). No historical-archaeological survey was made of these sites.

Given the complexity and size of the entire 87-acre site, it is not possible to say that "one block is much like another," and that therefore we might predict the type or quantity of artifacts that may (or may not) have been destroyed by this construction. Instead, the study of the Yerba Buena Center has revealed the sharp contrasts that exist, both in geographic terrain and in socio-economic levels of the various populations, between Central Block 3 and Eastern Block 3--the latter being the edge of Rincon Hill.

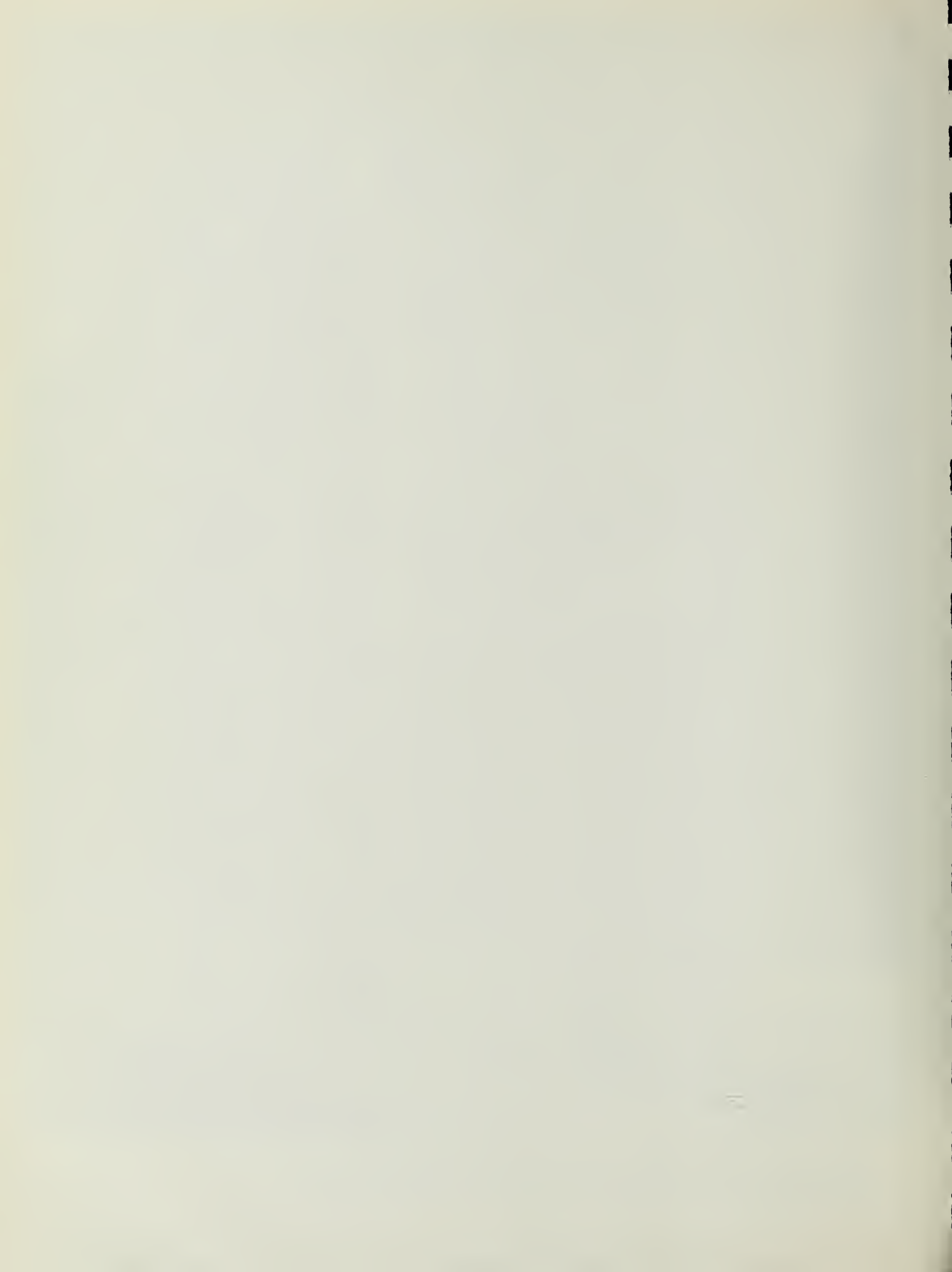
Central Block 2, in 1977, had no standing buildings. This block consisted then of partially filled basement excavations, unfilled basements, and paved parking lots. The decision was made during the construction of the Moscone Convention Center to use Central Block 2 for a construction staging and storage area, and the block was filled with the earth removed from the adjoining Central Block 3. In effect, Central Block 2 became a convenient dumping center for part of the earth removed during the large excavation required for the Moscone Convention Center, one block south. At the onset of the filling of Central Block 2, a survey was made of the block, noting basement levels (Pritchett: 1979). However, it should be noted that although the fill was deemed not to have any appreciable impact on potential archaeological resources that may exist on CB-2, it is also obvious that the resulting difficulty of future archaeological pre-construction testing programs caused by the introduction of the fill itself may prove costly.

The letter of agreement under which this historical archaeological survey is being written directs the study entirely toward historical archaeological resources, not to include extant structures. However, no description of the Yerba Buena site in 1979 could be considered complete without comment on certain of these buildings.

The **Jessie Street Substation**, at 222-226 Jessie Street, was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in September of 1974 in



Plate 72: **The Jessie Street Substation** . . . Designed by Willis Polk and erected by P.G. & E. in 1907, this hidden architectural jewel of the city is now splendidly visible from Mission Street. (Morley Baer)



recognition of the building's intrinsic architectural merit. The 1887 Sanborn map (CB-1) shows the original power generating station that was built in 1880 on this site. In 1905, William Bourn hired Willis Polk to design additions and alterations to the existing substation. Polk's additions were destroyed in two fires, the second one being the 1906 fire that gutted the Yerba Buena Center. Plate 72 shows the building as it stands today, with the marble cartouche of cherubs that Polk added with his redesign and construction in the fall of 1906. The substation was part of William Bourn's plan to enhance Pacific Gas and Electric Company industrial designs in the first years of this century. In 1976 the National Trust for Historic Preservation made a feasibility study possible for the re-use of the Jessie Street substation, then owned by the Redevelopment Agency, that proposed the building be used as a major public access to the Yerba Buena site, with suggestions for interior commercial development (National Trust for Historic Preservation: 1977).

South of the Jessie Street Substation stands **St. Patrick's Church**, rebuilt after the 1906 fire on the site it had occupied since 1872. Originally built in 1851, at the corner of Market and Annie (as seen in Plate 7), the church was moved to its Mission Street address, possibly to accommodate to William Ralston's desire to build the Palace Hotel next to Asbury Harpending's Grand Hotel. The twin spires of St. Patrick's have been a South of Market landmark for over 100 years. Plate 12 shows St. Patrick's in a Muybridge stereo taken in the mid-1870's, perhaps just after its completion. The church operation has been closely associated with South of Market charities throughout its existence, operating orphanages, founding homes, schools for orphans, and mission programs. Gutted in the 1906 fire, it was rebuilt and has remained an important institution in the South of Market.

The shell of the **Aronson Building** can be seen in 1906 in Plate 53. It was rebuilt, and its pre-1906 style is considerably more substantial and decorative than other office buildings in the South of Market area. As a result, with the passing years, this structure has presented an attractive face in the Yerba Buena Center that deserved consideration for preservation rather than demolition. The excellent scale of the Aronson Building

(or Mercantile Building, as it is sometimes referred to) is perhaps one of its more important attributes. Office buildings of 10 stories are becoming less and less frequent, given the higher price of land in San Francisco, and therefore they have a greater appeal in terms of human scale in the cityscape. This building is designated a local Historic Landmark, and is planned for rehabilitation.

Another example of rehabilitation and re-use is the **Fourth Street Police Station**, which was built in the Mission Revival style that was popular at the time of the 1915 Exposition. This particularly handsome building was meant to compliment the Southern Pacific Station at Third and Townsend (since demolished), and to spruce up the South of Market area for visitors to the fair. The building is being used as a Senior Citizen's Center and is an excellent example of rehabilitation of a small building. The architectural ornamentation gives a continuity with the past that is totally appropriate in the Yerba Buena Center.

One of the last of the workingmen's saloon-restaurants disappeared in the summer of 1979 in the Yerba Buena Center, with the closing of **Breen's** at Mission and Third Streets. The owners did not wish to continue in business, but the bar and cafeteria-style restaurant was one of the last places in the YBC where a 50¢ place of stew and noodles was available in the noisy but cheerful big booths that seated eight to ten people. The long oak bar was reputed to have come from Leadville, Colorado—one of the late boom towns from the silver mining strikes of 1878 and '79. The golden oak carved figures of robust ladies would have certainly suited the tastes of the Leadville miners and seemed very much at home in San Francisco. It is interesting to note that the price offered to Breen's owners for their back-bar exceeded the cost of most of the buildings put up before 1906 in the Yerba Buena Center, with the exception of the long gone Union Hall or the Opera House, or the 1872 belfry for St. Patrick's, which was a gift from Peter Donahue.

The narrow back streets of Sherwood Place, Hunt, Clara, Clementina, and Tehama will be largely lost except as names on old maps. The very real physical presence of these streets still exists in the form of granite curbstones and balsalt paving blocks under the asphalt. As

these paving blocks date from the 1870's and '80's they are becoming increasingly rare in San Francisco, where ten years ago they were considered to be an inexhaustible supply of decorative stone work for city parks. It is strongly recommended that these paving blocks be left **in situ** where possible and restored, and where this is not possible for overriding design considerations, it is most strongly recommended that the handsome blue-gray blocks be set aside for city use in the reconstruction of various projects, such as the Northeast Waterfront Embarcadero plan. Landscape construction budgets suggest the importance of the conservation of elegant building material that can no longer be afforded on any large scale.

Chapter XII

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PRE-CONSTRUCTION TESTING

From Ohlones to '49ers to Tar Flat and After—Eras in the Cultural History of the South of Market Area

The overwhelming number of potential sites and the diversity of the inhabitants and activities represented throughout the 87 acres of the Yerba Buena Center project area confronts the archaeological investigator with one basic question: how to choose a meaningful sample of sites for testing and excavation from among the thousands of possibilities available?

Sampling procedures must somehow seek to satisfy a broad range of goals and expectations, at the center of which lies the preservation of cultural resources of demonstrated significance or, at the least, the mitigation of adverse impact thereto by an appropriate program of research and investigation. Technically, this is accomplished by establishing through archaeological testing procedures which, if any, cultural properties within the Yerba Buena Center are eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. Viewed from a purely intellectual perspective, the aim of the research is to generate new and meaningful insights into the history of San Francisco and its inhabitants. The archaeological work must, as well, be guided in its objectives and methods by a well conceived and formulated research design, which indicates the sorts of data to be sought and the types of sites to be sampled. In light of the data from the prehistoric and historic periods discussed in the preceding sections of

this volume, archaeological testing and research must seek, at a minimum, to examine the following aspects of the history of the YBC blocks:

1. **Prehistoric Sites:** Archaeological goals include the detection, recording and assessment of the undisturbed portions of any prehistoric sites, presumably shellmounds. Although systematic testing of the entire YBC project has been ruled out as inefficient (and indeed probably futile) a zone of archaeological probability for prehistoric site remains, cutting through parts of CB-4 and WB-4, has been singled out. This zone is based on the existence of a documented shellmound (the only one in the area), designated 4-SFr-2, which sat on the marsh at the original limit of Mission Bay. The zone of probability is based on the limits of this marsh zone, as revealed by early maps. More detail is provided in the section of Research Design and Testing, below.

2. **Gold Rush:** The YBC blocks are rich in potential sites dating from the Gold Rush, with more than four dozen structures appearing on the first reliable map of the area (the 1852 Coast Survey), of which at least a dozen or more are probably still preserved, as detailed below. The Gold Rush is the very root of the city's history, and the prospects of significantly increasing the archaeological data base regarding this seminal period must not be ignored. Work at CB-3 verified the possibility of encountering structural remains from the earliest buildings at YBC, and other Gold Rush finds around the city confirm the possibilities of significant archaeological retrieval.

3. **Sites of Historic Importance to the South of Market district, or San Francisco as a Whole:** In this category are included civic buildings or public buildings of importance to community life. The possibilities are detailed and discussed below.

4. **Case Study Sites of Privy Vaults Dating from the Period of Roughly 1870 to 1890:** In order to obtain a sampling of the sorts of archaeological data available regarding the different ethnic groups significant in the populations of the YBC blocks during this period, a systematic collection from privy vaults will be made. This collection will provide documentation of many aspects of popular culture and products consumed during the period, as well as contributing to research questions concerning

social class, ethnicity, and the American idea of "the melting pot." It is aimed at salvaging, through particularly high artifact yield features, a portion of the vast amount of popular culture which lies buried beneath the city surface.

* * * *

It is important to bear in mind the number of widely diverse social and economic groups which have inhabited the 87 acres of the YBC, leaving in one way or another their traces in the ground. They range from the '49ers, who plunked down cabins and houses among sand hills, to the Parrotts and Lathams in their aristocratic mansions on Folsom Street, to the densely clustered working masses of the 1870's, '80's and '90's, whose residences packed Clementina, Tehama, Clara, Minna and other back alleyways of the South of Market. (Indians, who no doubt traversed the site, lived atop a shell mound just across Harrison Street from CB-4, and may possibly have occupied unrecorded sites nearby.) We know some things about all of these people (our knowledge being far greater about the Parrotts, Lathams, and Folsoms, of course), but even more has been lost, particularly concerning the daily life of their times. One of the goals of historical archaeology, as James Deetz has well expressed it, is to correct that situation:

Since historical archaeology must deal with not only excavated material from the American past but also all that has survived above the ground, including old houses, collections of pottery, weapons, bottles, glassware, cutlery, and textiles, it is truly the study of American material culture in historical perspective. It stands in contrast to the study of history or the decorative arts not so much in terms of subject matter as in terms of its analytical approach. An appreciation for the simple details of past existence, which escape historical mention, and for simple artifacts, not deemed significant in art-historical terms, viewed from the perspective of a broad social-scientific base, characterizes historical archaeology (1977: 25).

The historical/archival researches undertaken in the compilation of this and the two other YBC volumes (Olmsted, Olmsted and Pastron 1977; Olmsted, Olmsted and Pastron 1979), which coupled with archaeological

excavation based on their findings, will provide us with a uniquely detailed body of data from which to retrieve and reconstruct much of the detail of daily life in the YBC project during the latter 19th century. Moreover, work carried out at CB-3 and now in the process of analysis and writeup for publication, has allowed a sharpening of field methods and focusing of research questions, particularly concerning the period of the 1870's and 1880's.

Site Samples

All sites targeted for testing have been the subject of careful map study, to assure the likelihood that they have not been destroyed as a result of any later traceable activity at the site. This involves considerations of changed grades at the location and excavation of basements for later buildings erected on the spot. Thus, the possibility of Gold Rush sites along Stevenson Street is ruled out by the great depth of soil that was removed in the cutting down of the sand hill which stood near Market Street. Likewise, the site of the Grand Opera House on Mission was obliterated by the construction of a post-1906 basement on that lot. On the other hand, due to changed grade levels, it is not always the case that a later basement has impacted the remains of earlier structures on a lot. This is particularly true of CB-2, parts of which at the time of the Coast Survey Maps of 1852 and 1857 lay up to 10 to 12 feet below the city grades for the block. The block was brought up to the new grade by filling, and basements dug into this post-1859 fill, particularly the shallow half-basements commonly built below the two-story flats which lined Minna and Everett (Natoma) Streets, would not have reached the depth of the earlier, now buried features remaining from Gold Rush days.

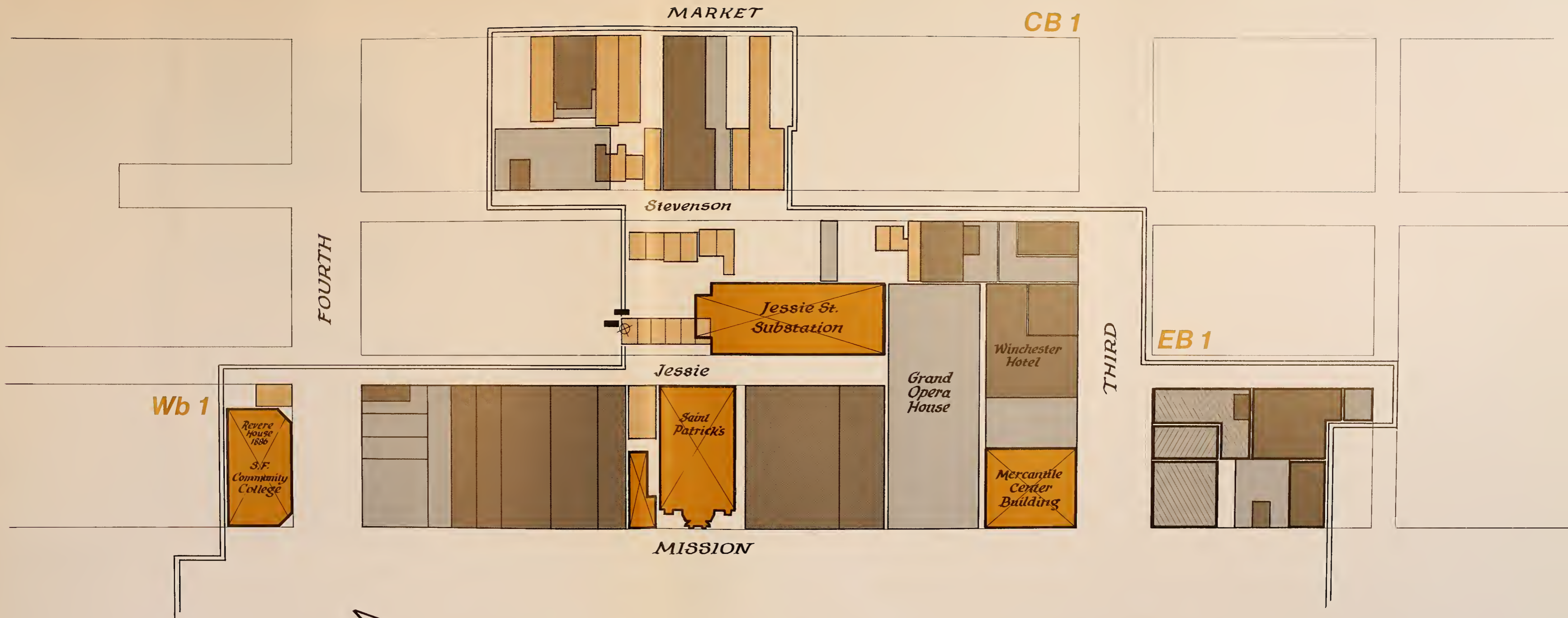
The other consideration involved in testing of any particular site is the present accessibility of the site. Potential cultural resources have not been ruled out of the testing scheme on the grounds of excessive depth. Although some sites on CB-2 and other blocks may lie as much as 12 to 14 feet below present grade, they have been targeted for test

EB 1

W



**New buildings;
historic bldgs-
rehabilitation
planned**



Pre-Earthquake basements as shown on Sanborn maps: 1887-1905



Post-Earthquake basements from Sanborn maps & building permits



Post-Earthquake basements over pre-earthquake basements



Existing buildings (direction of lines indicate shape)



New buildings; historic bldgs-rehabilitation planned

⊗ Recommended test boring site

— Recommended test trench site

EB 2

Mission Street



Sherwood Place



Hunt Street



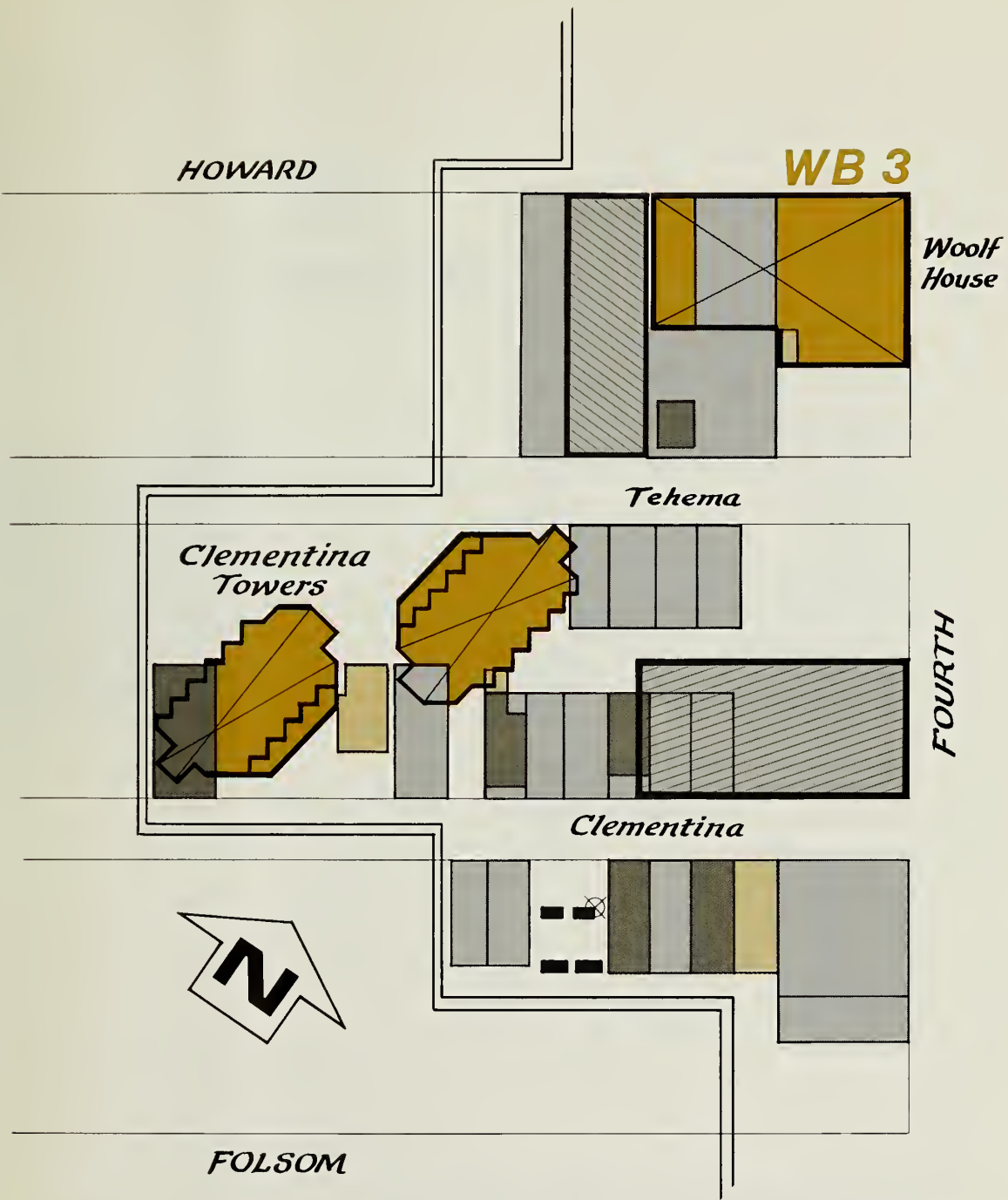
Howard Court







*New buildings;
historic bldgs-
rehabilitation
planned*



- Pre-Earthquake basements as shown on Sanborn maps: 1887-1905
- Post-Earthquake basements from Sanborn maps & building permits
- Post-Earthquake basements over pre-earthquake basements
- Existing buildings (direction of lines indicate shape)
- New buildings; historic bldgs-rehabilitation planned

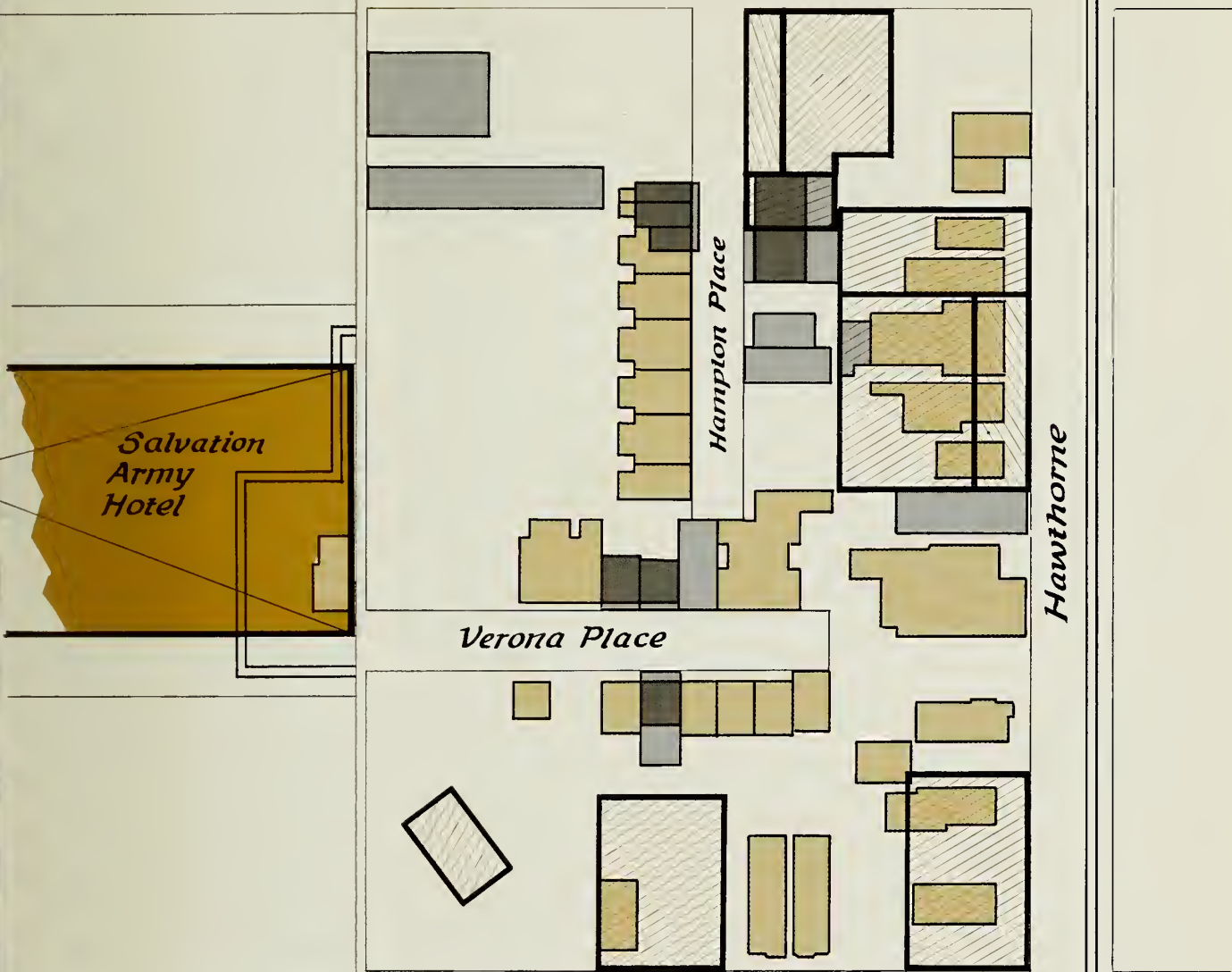
Recommended test boring site
 Recommended test trench site



	<i>Pre-Earthquake basements as shown on Sanborn maps: 1887-1905</i>		<i>Post-Earthquake basements from Sanborn maps and building permits</i>		<i>Post-Earthquake basements over pre-earthquake basements</i>
	<i>Existing buildings (direction of lines indicate shape)</i>		<i>New buildings; historic buildings, rehabilitation planned</i>	 SCALE OF FEET 0 50 100 150 200	

⊗ Recommended test boring site ■ Recommended test trench site

EB 4



EB 5

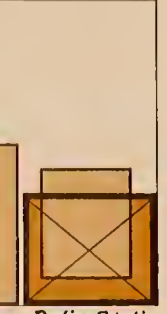
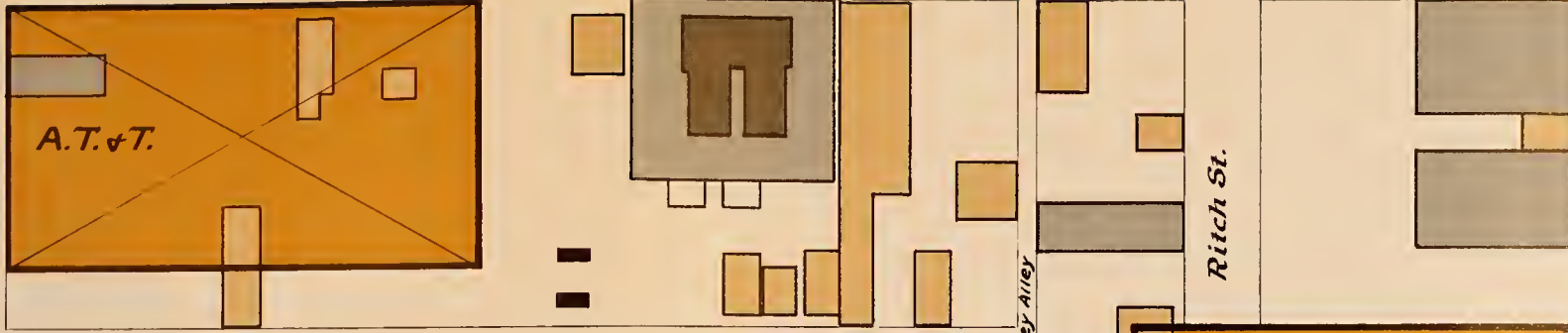


WB 4

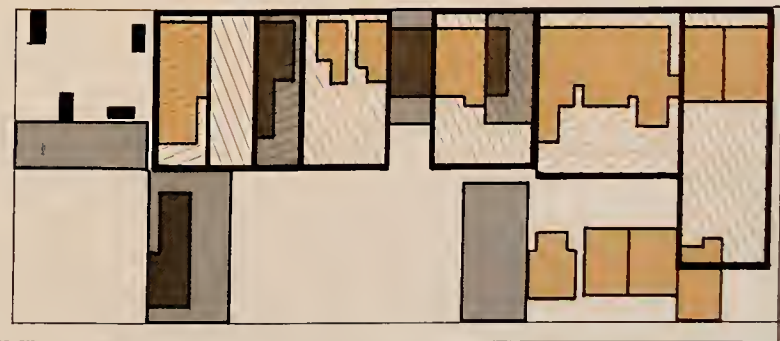
FOLSOM

CB 4

EB 4



EB 5



Scale of Feet
0 50 100 150



Pre-Earthquake basements as shown on Sanborn maps: 1887-1905



Post-Earthquake basements from Sanborn maps & building permits



Post-Earthquake basements over pre-earthquake basements



Existing buildings (direction of lines indicate shape)



New buildings; historic bldgs-rehabilitation planned

⊗ Recommended test boring site

▬ Recommended test trench site

borings. Sites which lie under buildings designated "permanent" in the Redevelopment Agency's plan for YBC, have been ruled out from consideration. The buildings falling into this category are (1) large new structures, such as the buildings of the Telephone Company on CB-4, the Woolf House on WB-3, or the parking structure on WB-2, or, (2) buildings earmarked for preservation on esthetic or historical grounds, such as St. Patrick's Church and the Jessie Street Sub-station on CB-1.

Testing methods proposed, which have been standardized for simplicity and comparability of results, are described in a separate section of these proposals, after the discussion of the sample sites themselves.

I. Prehistoric Sites: As outlined in the earlier review of prehistoric resources for the block, no site has ever been recorded within the boundaries of the YBC project, although a shellmound (4-SFr-2) was located just across Harrison Street from CB-4. Moreover, as the evidence from Richmond's Stege mounds suggested, the existence of several shellmounds in close proximity to one another cannot be ruled out, and therefore it is possible, subject to the qualifications listed earlier, that portions of undisturbed midden from a previously unrecorded shellmound could exist on lots, or portions of lots, within the YBC.

4-SFr-2 was located near what appears from city maps of 1851-1853 to have been a meandering watercourse, probably bearing runoff water to the bay after rainstorms. The **Parker Directory Map** of 1852-53 indicates that perhaps another similar slough led more to the west, in the direction of WB-4. Vague as these topographical hints are, they suggest the existence of an ecological zone defined by the bayside marsh and perhaps intermittent fresh water streams.

Following the margin of the marsh, as indicated on the 1853 Coast Survey Chart, this zone of marsh land, ecologically comparable to the surroundings of 4-SFr-2, would cut across the southwest corner of CB-4, and take in just about all of WB-4 that lies within the project boundaries (see Map 18). Since present city grade at Fourth and Harrison is four feet, the approximate original level of the marsh through this zone would be some 11 feet below the present surface, give or take a foot or two due to irregularities.

A number of historic period sites selected for testing lie atop the area included in this prehistoric zone of ecological comparability. While testing for sites on WB-4 would not otherwise be required to go to a depth of 11 feet, testing at these sites will be extended downward, by use of either hand or mechanical augers, to a depth of 15 feet below present surface, as a testing measure for the possibility of an aboriginal shellmound.

Auger samples will be checked carefully for presence of shell midden. The presence of such midden, should it be encountered, would not in and of itself constitute evidence of the existence of an unrecorded site, since in the earthmoving activities which have characterized this area, midden could have been imported as part of fill from elsewhere, or midden from 4-SFr-2 could have been displaced in the destruction of that mound. Nonetheless, the encountering of midden would require further testing to establish the nature and extent of the deposit and to determine whether it represents, in fact, an intact portion of an unrecorded site. Once such a determination had been made, recommendations for mitigation of impact would be formulated.

It should be stressed again that the lack of any predictive model for distribution of shellmounds throughout the YBC has ruled out a systematic testing for prehistoric resources *per se*. The approach outlined here, building on the notion of ecological comparability, and starting from sites where testing is to be carried out in any case, economically integrates the search for prehistoric resources into the larger research scheme.

2. Gold Rush: The potential for recovery of significant Gold Rush sites on several of the YBC blocks is high. Gold Rush structures which appear on the first reliable mapping of the South of Market, the Coast Survey Map of 1852, are located on the topography more or less as it had existed at the time of the first habitation. By 1859 and 1860, however, street and block levels throughout the area had been brought to the grades established for the city, meaning that in the case of very low portions of the YBC blocks (such as the hollow between Mission and Howard Streets) as much as 10 to 14 feet of fill—often sand from nearby hills which had been leveled—was introduced. Thus, much of CB-2, and

portions of EB-2, WB-2, CB-4 and EB-3 lie under a heavy mantle of fill. The significance of this fact for archaeological recovery is that portions of many, if not most, of the structures which are shown on the 1852 and 1857 maps on the filled portions of these blocks, still exist. There are records of buildings being lifted by means of hydraulic jacks to raised street levels, but these were mostly more expensive structures, and many of the smaller, more flimsy houses of the Gold Rush were no doubt left standing, or else scavenged and flattened. Features associated with the structures, such as wells, outhouses, or trashpits probably would not have been disturbed. In places where the fill exceeded 8 to 10 feet, the likelihood of preservation of Gold Rush features is excellent. Along Natoma, and Minna on CB-2, and Hunt on EB-2, the generally shallow half-basements of the two- and three-story buildings which were erected on the newly filled land most likely did not extend deep enough to impact the earlier Gold Rush features. And, in the case of CB-2 and WB-2, it appears likely that even post-1906 basements 10 feet deep probably did not reach the original Gold Rush levels. Thus, though problems of testing and recovery loom as important considerations in the case of these deeply buried Gold Rush sites, the probability of their existence and potential historical/archaeological yield are high.

In some cases (for example 10 and 12 Hunt Street), structures which appear at the same place on the 1852 and 1857 maps may represent the same structure; or again there is the possibility that a new structure has appeared on the same lot. The structure which appears on the 1887 Sanborn map usually would be a different structure yet, due to cutting or filling to street grades. Thus, in certain cases, such as 10 Hunt, it is possible that remains of three structures, two dating from the Gold Rush period, may be superposed upon each other. Archaeological excavation at such a site might produce a double Gold Rush yield.

A. Early Gold Rush Test Sites: The heady early days of the Gold Rush (1849-1852), when the area of San Francisco around Yerba Buena Cove was growing rapidly, shows sparse settlement in the YBC at the time of the first reliable mapping (the Coast Survey of 1852). Such structures, or features associated with them, such as outhouses or trash

dumps, would be of great value for building the data base of material culture and structural remains from the early Gold Rush period. Given the paucity of remaining buildings in San Francisco traceable to this period, and the fact that to date only a single archaeological site within the city has been nominated for eligibility for the National Register of Historical Places, it seems mandatory to include potential sites from the early Gold Rush among the locations to be tested for their value as historical cultural resources. Potential sites are presented in the following discussion on a block-by-block basis, followed by a set of those recommended for testing.

A number of structures lying within the YBC boundaries appear on the 1852 Coast Survey map. Many, however, due to later cutting and filling activities, or construction of later buildings with basements, would have been removed or at least severely impacted. This would be the case with buildings shown on CB-1, which was in 1852 on much higher ground. Judging from the difference between 1852 and present grades, the sites along Stevenson and to the north of it, would have been destroyed when the hill centering on Stevenson was cut down. The structures fronting south onto Mission Street would appear also to have been several feet above present grade level in that area, but even if they were at approximately the present grade or several feet lower, would have been dug out by the construction of the pre- and post-earthquake basements placed along Mission. Even sub-surface features of 1852 sites would probably not have extended below the depth of post-earthquake basements. The same would be true for the structures at the southwest corner of EB-1, the only portion of that block included within the YBC boundaries.

The western third of EB-2 contained a number of structures in 1852, with a cluster of houses along the line of Hunt Street and others fronting on Howard. So far as may be determined by comparing the 20-foot contour intervals of the 1852 mapping with extrapolations from present-day grades along Hunt and Howard Streets, the Gold Rush structures were about nine feet below present surface, give or take a few feet due to uncertainty about the rough contours of the 1852 map. Post earthquake basements have dug into almost all the area between Sherwood

Place and Howard Street. Depending on their depth, and considering the margin of error possible in our extrapolations concerning past and present grades, it is possible that recent basements, particularly those reaching 10 feet in depth, may have impacted, or destroyed totally, the remains of 1852 structures. Most of the two-story buildings covering the area at the time of the 1887 Sanborn mapping had no basements, and presumably would not have impacted the earlier structures, simply being built over them. Only field testing will reveal the likelihood that any, or all, of the 1852 structures have remained unimpacted through the course of subsequent construction.

Testing recommendations for EB-3 have been presented in the *Edge of Rincon Hill* report (Olmsted, Olmsted and Pastron 1979). No structures are shown on either EB-4 or EB-5 in the 1852 mapping, and hence these blocks do not fall under consideration here.

CB-4 shows four accessible structures on the 1852 map. The remains of two of these, near the corner of Third and Folsom, would certainly have been removed during construction of a post-earthquake building which occupied the corner of the block before the present parking lot. The two structures along Harrison, on the other hand, lay an estimated 9 feet below the present grade. The easternmost of these, lying under 730 and 732 Harrison on the 1887 Sanborn map, was probably not affected by the usually shallow basements of the sort of dwellings shown on those lots. A post-earthquake basement, however, is noted for 730 Folsom, and may have impacted the 1852 site. The more western of the two 1852 houses, however, which also lay beneath a basement on the 1887 Sanborn, is probably intact.

WB-4 was largely covered by the shallow marsh at the edge of Mission Bay in 1852, with only its northeast corner on dry land. The sole structure visible on the 1852 map lay just outside the project boundaries. WB-3 shows only a single dwelling within the project boundaries. This was presumably the same structure which appeared on the 1857 Coast Survey Map, and which a directory listing identifies as a feed store at 230 4th Street, owned by Patrick Campbell. Remains from this buildings would appear to have been destroyed by the basement of a post-earthquake building erected at the spot.

WB-2 showed two structures on the 1853 Coast Survey Map. The more northerly of these lay just to the north of Minna Street, with part of the southern half of the building actually extending into the street itself (which was, at that point, only a set of lines on a map). Parts of this building may still exist under Minna Street and on the corner lot at Minna and Fourth. Comparison of 1852 with present grades suggests that the remains would lie about 8-10 feet below the present surface. A more likely prospect is the house which faced on Fourth Street, between Natoma (previously Everett) Street and Howard. Although that location was the site of a subsequent post-earthquake building with basement, the difference between 1852 and present grades is so great (approximately 14 feet), that the recent basement (now exposed by demolition of the building) did not affect the Gold Rush structure.

The situation is much the same on CB-2, which was a hollow between the hills on CB-1 and CB-3. The 1852 grades lay at a depth of approximately 10 to 13 feet below the present surface levels. Thus, all the structures shown on Map 1B, with the possible exception of the two near Third and Natoma, would probably lie below the reach of the deepest basements which were constructed after the block had been raised to present city grades.

Thus, it would seem that the potential, at least, for recovery of features from early Gold Rush structures exists on a number of the YBC blocks, particularly CB-2, EB-2, CB-4 and WB-2. A number of qualifications must be added however. In cases where heavy filling was employed to bring blocks to present grade, for example the eastern half of WB-2 and all of CB-2, the houses may have been cleared from the area at the time this work was undertaken. Others may simply have been flattened and then covered, if of a flimsy construction. Whichever the case, associated features, such as privy vaults and trash pits, would have remained. It is possible also that irregularities in the 1852 topography not visible on the broad contours of the 1853 map may throw off our projections by a few feet. If the two southernmost structures on CB-4 were on a slight rise, and the basements of the 1887 buildings slightly deeper than normal, then all traces of the floor plan of the former might

be obliterated, while the privy vaults would probably be intact. Even when these factors are figured into the equation, it still seems likely that portions of some early Gold Rush structures may be located through a careful testing program. Early Gold Rush sites targeted for testing are these:

Block	Address	
EB-2	Rear of lot of 145 3rd, and lot of 2 Hunt (1887 Sanborn)	A rectangular house, with small extension to the east, along the north line of Hunt. Because of depth of fill, testing would be through boring to verify presence or absence of remains. Remains of structure shown on 1887 Sanborn would have been removed by post-1906 basement.
EB-2	670 Howard (1887 Sanborn)	Same stratigraphic conditions as the site above; the house is slightly larger.
EB-2	12 Hunt (1887 Sanborn)	Site of a small square structure, probably measuring less than 20' x 20', the archetypical Gold Rush cottage. The site is discussed more fully in the next section of these recommendations, "Late Gold Rush," since the same structure is apparently on the lot in 1857.
CB-4	734 Harrison (1887 Sanborn)	Site of the westernmost of the two cottages likely to be unimpacted on the block.
WB-2	140 4th St.	A rectangular structure. Although at a depth of 12 to 14 feet, relative to present surface, the remains of the structure are accessible to easy testing at the date of this writing, due to the exposed and unfilled basement cavity of the most recent building on the block. Floor of this basement is about 10 feet below sidewalk level, and probably only 2 to 4 feet above the Gold Rush remains.
CB-2	63-65 Natoma	This is the largest building on the block, as shown by the 1852 Coast Survey, L-shaped and fronting on Natoma (Everett). Like all the Gold Rush structures on CB-2, its remains would lie at an estimated depth of 12-14 feet, and would have to be tested for by means of a boring.
CB-2	43 Natoma	A smallish, rectangular building set back about 50 feet from the south line of Natoma.
CB-2	754 Howard	Site of a long rectangular building, with rear extension, which faced onto Howard Street.

Note that CB-2 has been cleared entirely of modern buildings. The basement cavities, which sat open for some time, were filled early in 1979. The placement and depth of all exposed basements was recorded in a report submitted earlier to the Redevelopment Agency (Prichett 1979).

B. Late Gold Rush (1852-1857): By 1857, intensive development had greatly changed many parts of the YBC project area, with EB-1 and EB-2 40% to 50% covered with buildings, and new developments such as the row of houses visible on CB-2 along Minna Street, each with its outhouse, and such big new structures as the large Omnibus Stables, on the line of Clementina Street in CB-3. The sites selected for sampling on the basis of the 1857 map are those which have some intrinsic interest, such as the Minna Street cottages or 782 Harrison, the home of George Wood, seemingly--on the basis of the 1860 census data--one of the earliest Black residents of the South of Market. The two neighboring houses, built soon after, housed Black families as well, creating, one can only suppose, a small community. Since Wood's occupation was listed in the census as "Hairdresser" and his Black neighbors had such jobs as "cooper" and "tailor", they doubtless differ from later Blacks who appear on CB-2 and EB-3 in the 1880 census, some of whom were probably freed slaves, and who worked as porters and waiters in the big hotels on Market Street.

Late Gold Rush sites targeted for testing are these:

Block	Address	
CB-4	782 Harrison (1860 Census)	The George Wood house just described. Although the site was later excavated for a post-1906 basement, study of the 1857 and present grades suggests that remains of the Wood house should lie about 10 feet below present surface and may not have been impacted. This site, in turn, lies in the bay margin zone described in the section on prehistoric sites and testing would be extended downward to establish the presence or absence of shell midden remains.
WB-4	336 4th St. (1887 Sanborn)	House located at the edge of the marsh in 1857. Testing at this site will accomplish the objective

3. Sites of Historic Significance: Several sites of historic significance in the civic and community life of San Francisco have existed within the borders of the YBC project. These offer the possibility, in theory at least, of consideration as potential historical resources. A review of the various sites reveals that for one reason or another, none show any promise of accessibility to archaeological recovery.

The Grand Opera House, constructed in 1873 and destroyed by the fire of 1906, was located on CB-1, near Mission and Third. The site, however, was the location of the basement for a large, post-earthquake building that would have effaced all traces of the Opera House. Across Third Street, also on the north side of Mission, was the University of Pacific Medical School, which appears on the 1857 map. The site has been severely impacted by the excavation of both pre- and post-earthquake basements.

CB-3 was the site of Union Hall, on the south side of Howard Street. Field testing on the block in 1978 disclosed that bulldozing of the area, after the final demolition of buildings in preparation for the construction of the Moscone Convention Center, had obliterated the site of this landmark building.

Another bearing consideration was the Ixora Dance Hall, an amusement place upstairs, whose basements contained businesses as diverse as a mineral water bottling company and an undertaker. The site of the Ixora, however, was excavated in the construction of a post-earthquake basement.

For the most part, however, the blocks south of Market Street were residential, sprinkled with small businesses. Traces of the few major community centers just mentioned have all been obliterated by later construction.

4. Ethnic Diversity of the 1870's and '80's: Cities have always been the great mingling places of different cultural traditions. San Francisco of the 1870's and '80's was no exception, with one of the contributing factors being the completion of the transcontinental railway in 1869, which brought an influx of new arrivals--both people and goods.

Moreover, the 1870's marked the end of San Francisco's Gold Rush youth, and an accelerating shift toward an industrial-based mode of life. Shumsky writes that "The social history of San Francisco during the 1870's is the analysis of how economic development revolutionized the arrangement of society and brought about new social groups" (1966: 12). Nowhere were these developments more marked than in the South of Market.

Culture formation among the diverse ethnic groups in cities has been widely studied in anthropology and urban studies. Concerned with the urban experience in America, Glazer's *Beyond the Melting Pot* (1970) and Herbert Gans' *Urban Villagers* (1962), have challenged the earlier view of a supposed "melting pot."

The YBC blocks, with their rich diversity of ethnic groups, provide an opportunity for historical archaeology to make a contribution to our unfolding knowledge of immigrant groups and assimilation in American cities. Using the data from censuses, directories and other sources, already gathered in the preparation of this volume, as a basis, we propose to examine a number of sites dating from the 1870's and '80's as case studies of particular ethnic groups and social classes.

The purpose of this portion of the archaeological program will be twofold:

1. To provide data for case studies in "applied archaeology"—reconstructions of some aspects of the daily life of the different social types in the South of Market; for example, the working class Irish, who figure so prominently in the life of the area, and a look at the lives of the Black people who worked in the grand hotels on Market Street. Results of this work would be displays, slide shows, and educational materials.

2. To begin the accumulation of a scientifically collected archaeological data base for the period, of use to historical archaeologists and historians. Control will be for two variables: social class, as defined roughly by occupation and other data gleaned from the census or directories, and ethnic origin.

Target sites will be the privy vaults of structures shown on the 1887 Sanborn maps. In some instances—as illustrated in the case of the Stitt family, who lived at 40 Natoma Street from the 1850's until 1905—it

is possible to be certain of continuous occupation during the 1870's and '80's by a single family. While it is not possible in all cases to be sure that the users of a privy vault in, let us say, the early 1870's, are the same residents of the house who appear in the 1880 census, further archival research during the course of analysis and write-up may well be able to determine this fact and attribute the outhouse remains to their proper source.

There are persuasive reasons for the selection of privy vaults as the main target for this part of the archaeological testing. First, excavation is unlikely to encounter anything but foundations of structures shown on the 1887 Sanborn maps, since the 1906 fire destroyed the YBC blocks. Although the basements of buildings may be encountered, filled with rubble, such cultural material as they contain would date from the turn of the century. Nor is it safe to assume that rubble is always from the structure in which it is found, since in clean up and reconstruction after the earthquake and fire, rubble was often dumped on a neighboring lot when an owner cleared or rebuilt. Second, privies involve highly concentrated collections of artifactual material. In terms of well-preserved, classifiable artifacts, they provide high yield for a relatively limited amount of excavation. Moreover, in deeper sites, with a large accumulation of overburden, the limited dimensions of a privy require a minimum amount of lateral exposure. Third, privies almost always provide closely datable material, and sometimes, unmistakable evidence of their owner's identity, such as articles bearing engraved names. Strict dating of a privy would allow archival establishment of its use. A subsequent consultation of archival materials may, in many cases, allow a definite determination of the inhabitants of the dwelling at that time. Fourth, data from privies would be comparable with data from other privies excavated from sites throughout California (Pritchard 1972; Lewis 1977; Bante' 1978)

The sample obtained from a sampling of privy vaults will be heavily skewed in favor of culinary and everyday items discarded because broken or old. It possess at the same time the virtue of providing a large number of artifacts bearing brand names, and other indications of style and taste, excellently suited to analysis. Knowledge from this sort of data can

come in unexpected fashion. At Parting Ways, Massachusetts, excavation at the homesites of Black families turned up two earthenware jugs reflecting preservation of an African tradition longer than had been supposed (Deetz 1977: 138-154).

In targeting sites already researched on the basis of the 1880 census data, we have the tremendous advantage of knowing (pending verification via dating of material actually recovered from the privy, as noted above) a basic social-economic status of the inhabitants in question. Thus, the Coyles of 8 Sherwood Place had lived there since 1869. Patrick Coyle, born in Ireland, was a hostler. When he died, he left his wife and two children. The picture is that of a hardworking Irish immigrant family, hard pressed financially after the death of Patrick. Likewise William Gesnachaft, the German grocer at 401 Third Street, was probably typical of the more prosperous German merchant class that owned many corner groceries and other businesses, such as some of those in the Central Pacific Hotel (See Chapter 8).

Target sites listed below for investigation of the privies have been selected to represent five main ethnic groups, with both working class and prosperous merchant class subjects among the German, Irish and Anglo-American samples. While in a few cases, the detailed history related for the Coyles and others discussed in Chapter 8 may not be presently at hand for some sites on the sample, additional research through directories should, in most instances, be able to provide us the same depth of knowledge concerning our subjects. So far as is known, all the Chinese residents in the YBC operated laundries, while nearly all the Black workers recorded had occupations such as hotel porter or waiter, thus precluding any stratifying of the economic class sample in these cases. Ethnic sites targeted for testing are listed below. All addresses are those appearing on the 1887 Sanborn maps, the floor plans from which will be used to guide placement of trenches and borings for testing. While in some cases, buildings during the 1870's or early '80's may have differed from those shown on the 1887 map, it is reasonable to assume, on the basis of experience on CB-3, that the usage of lots had not changed much and that privies from the 1870's and '80's will be located near the rear property line. Since by 1887 the entire YBC area had been brought to approximately

present day grades (with the allowance for a foot or two of build-up due to the effects of the 1906 fire and occasional repaving), the top of the fill material in privy vaults should appear at about 4 to 6 feet below present surface, a depth easily attained by a backhoe trench.

Block	Address	Ethnic Identity
CB-1	252 Jessie	German; 1880 Census lists a Pfeifer and a Kempfer at this address. Additional information can probably be developed on this site.
CB-2	64 Natoma	Prussian; The Frank family, with German boarders. A prosperous businessman, whose firm produced bedding and mattresses. Present in the house at the time of the 1880 census (See Chapter 8).
EB-2	8 Sherwood	Irish; The Coyle family, described above (See also Chapter 8). Essentially, a working class household, struggling with poverty.
EB-2	8 Sherwood (house on rear of the lot)	Black; Several Black families, living in extremely crowded quarters. All the men were listed as waiters, presumably in the nearby Market Street hotels. (See Chapter 8).
EB-3	233 3rd	Black; William Smith family and roomers. Described in testing proposals for EB-3—see The Edge of Rincon Hill (Olmsted, Olmsted Pastron 1979: 169).
EB-3	163 Tehama	Irish; Michael Burns and family. (See Olmsted, and Olmsted and Pastron 1979: 169).
EB-3	153 Tehama	Chinese; eight individuals, all listing occupation as "Washer" or "Wash house" in the 1880 census (See Olmsted, Olmsted, and Pastron 1979: 169).
WB-3	319 Clementina	Irish; the Kennedy family was an upwardly mobile, prospering family, with Hugh Kennedy supporting his family off the profits from a horseshoeing business. The family is listed at the address from 1869 through 1894 (See Chapter 8).
WB-3	321 Clementina	Irish; the Curran and O'Brien families. A contrast to their successful neighbors, the Kennedys, members of this household had a harder struggle economically (See Chapter 8).
CB-4	51-1/2 Clara	Chinese; a laundry, sharing the lot with Lynch's Water Service. (See description in Chapter 8).

- | | | |
|------|-------------|---|
| CB-4 | 27 Louisa | German; Theresa Gebhardt. Name appears on 1880 Census. Further information concerning the address and its occupants can be generated. |
| EB-5 | 401 3rd St. | German; William Gesnachft (<i>sic</i>) and cousin William Hildebrandt. Immigrants from Hanover. No other boarders at the address in 1880 (See Chapter 8). |
| EB-5 | 405 3rd St. | Black; Charles and Mary Risher and family. Charles was a porter at the Palace Hotel, but out of work six months during 1880. His nephew, Walter, was a waiter there also (See Chapter 8). |

Methods of Testing to be Employed

The objective of the archaeological testing program is to verify the presence of sites identified on the basis of maps and archival data, as well as to assess their condition and potential significance as cultural resources. To achieve this goal, two main methods of locating sites will be employed, the use of one or both being determined by circumstances at each site. Among the relevant factors in the decision will be the estimated depth of the target site and nature of the feature being sought.

In general, a distinction will be made between "shallow" sites, of depth less than 8 feet to the upper surface of the feature(s), and "deep" sites, in which the top of the feature(s) is expected, on the basis of analysis of present and past grades, to lie more than 8 feet below ground surface.

The basic testing unit for "shallow" features will be a 1 x 2 meter trench, excavated with the aid of a tractor mounted backhoe, equipped with a 24" bucket. In the case of outhouses in the sample representing residences occupied during the 1870's and '80's, excavation will be with the intention of locating and assessing the contents of the privy vault. As explained earlier, undisturbed structural features from buildings of the 1870's and '80's are not likely to appear, since the vast majority of these buildings, or their replacements built on the same lot, were destroyed in

the fire of 1906. Hence, testing will concentrate along the rear property line of lots, where outhouses commonly stood. In some cases, the actual position of the outbuilding is indicated on the 1887 Sanborn map.

Unless, in the course of clearing of overburden, evidence is encountered of intact, pre-1906 features, excavation will proceed downward one foot at a time, with each level finished by hand, with a shovel. Material excavated from each one foot level will not be screened, but a sample of diagnostic artifacts (e.g., identifiable portions of bottles, or items bearing dates or labels, etc.) will be saved. Once a level has been dug and the trench trimmed by hand, the ground will be explored, through use of a four-foot stainless steel sounding probe, in an attempt to locate the outhouse pit. This process of excavation will be repeated for each level, until a depth of 6 feet is reached, or evidence of intact, structural features is found, at which point excavation and exposure will be carried out by hand, or until bedrock (e.g., on EB-5) or undisturbed, banded sand is reached. In the case of hand excavated features, standard archaeological techniques of trowel and brush exposure, photographic recording, etc., will be employed.

At the conclusion of testing for the privy vault at each "ethnic" site, a backhoe trench of approximately 2 meters in length will be placed across the location of the side wall of the dwelling so as to expose the foundation. For each target structure, the type, size and method and material of construction will be recorded, together with observations as to the nature of the fill in the basement or other observable factors that might lend insight into use or history of the building.

For all trenches, detailed records of soil types will be kept by one-foot levels and at the completion of the trench a stratigraphic profile will be drawn of at least two walls.

These rules of method will be applied for all the '70's and '80's "ethnic" sites.

In the case of Gold Rush structures, any likely to be "shallow" will be excavated in the following manner. Since in most cases, the Gold rush structure will be overlain by the remains of a more recent one, destroyed in 1906, overburden will be cleared by use of the backhoe down to the surface of that structure. From that level downward, excavation

will be by hand until the Gold Rush remains are encountered or until 8 feet is reached with shoring used for safety purposes. Hand excavation will be as described above. The standard test unit will remain 1 x 2 meters.

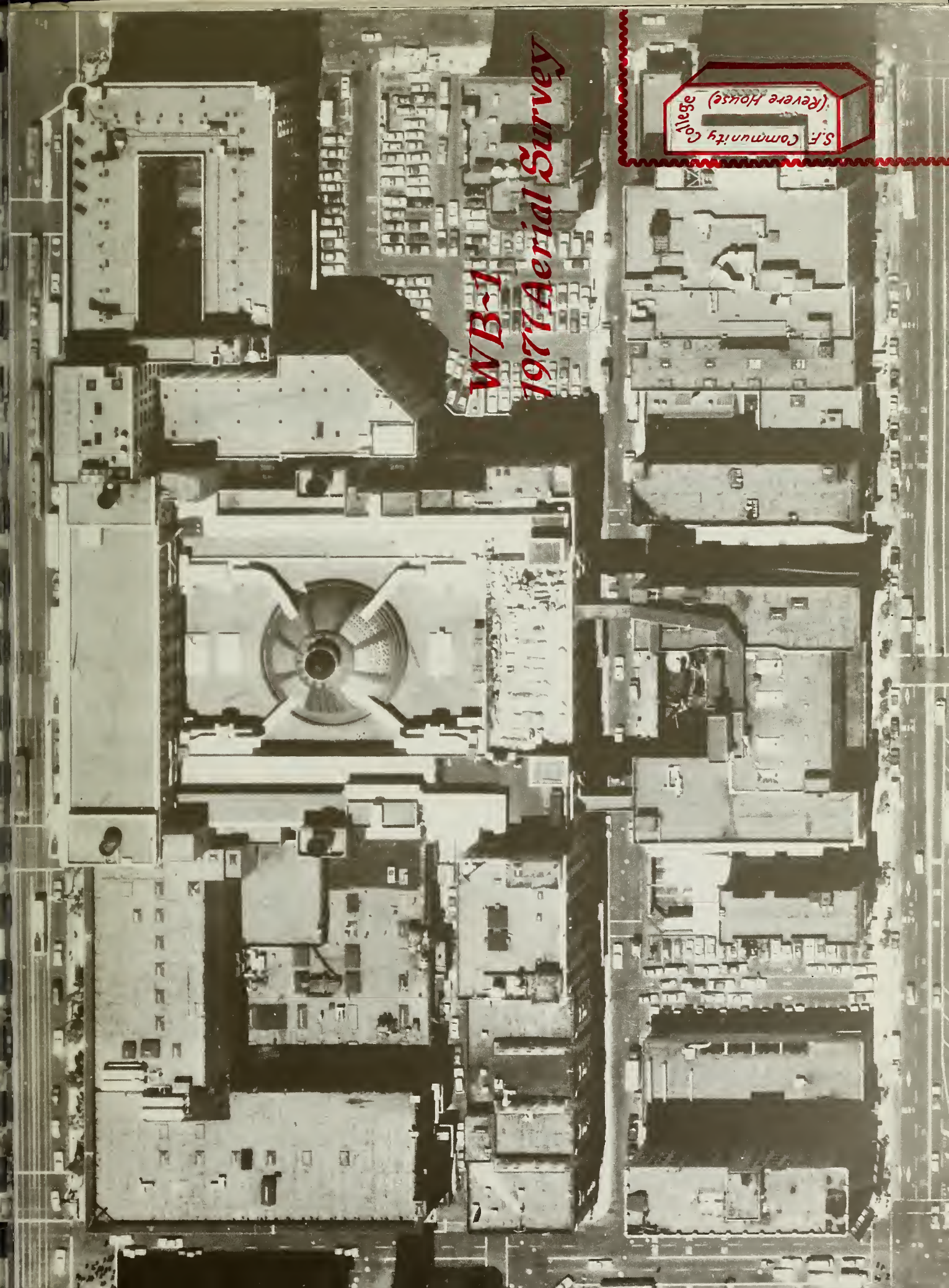
In the case of "deep" Gold Rush structures, excavation will be by means of a truck-mounted auger. Boring will be conducted in 1 foot increments, with the auger, or bucket, withdrawn after each foot of downward progress, and the soil screened and examined by the archaeological team. The "deep" Gold Rush features, lying under a thick layer of fill, should be signified by presence of wood and their immediate superposition atop a native, sterile soil.

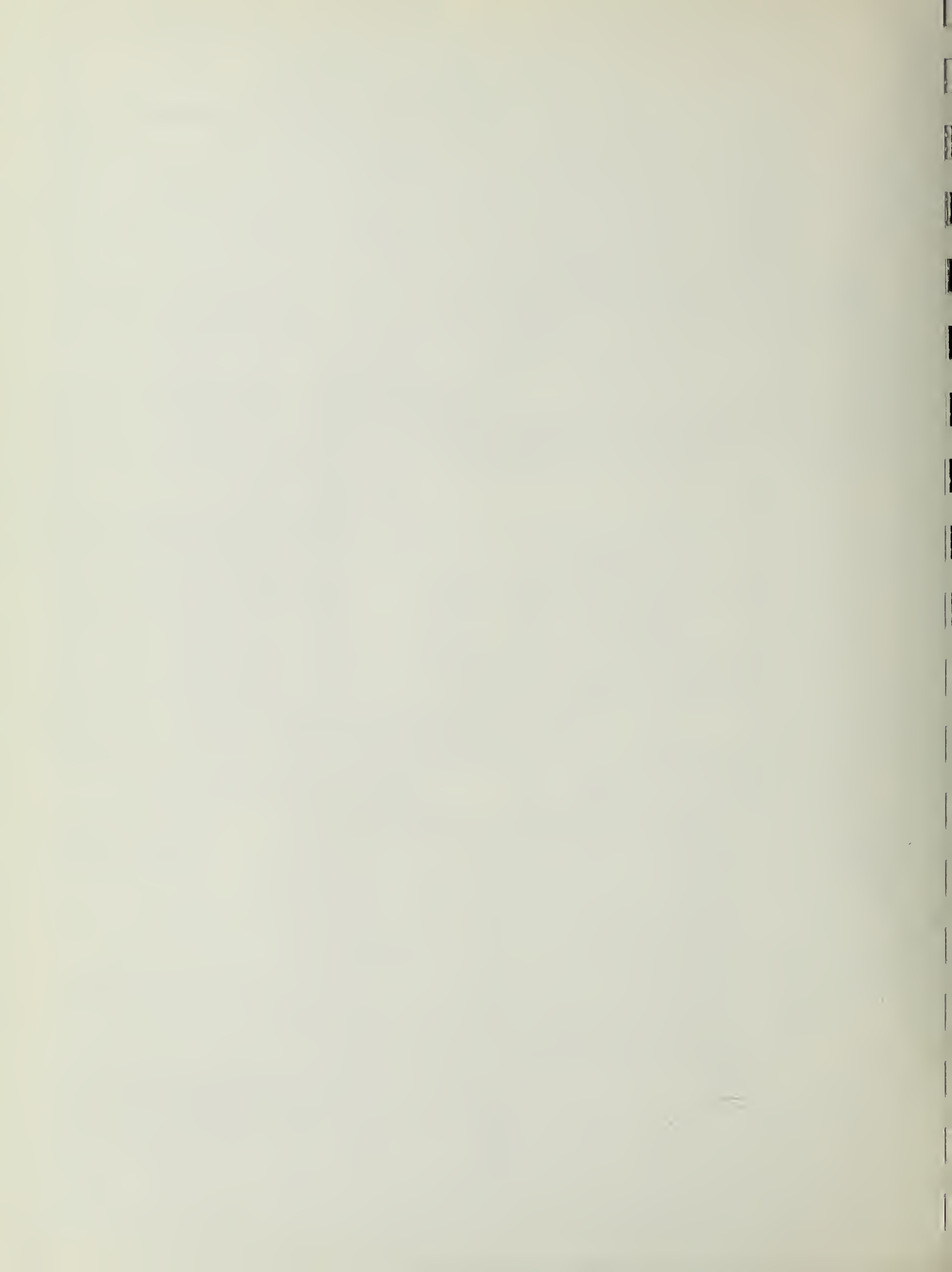
One or the other of these two methods, with minor adjustments as required to meet exceptional conditions at particular sites, will constitute the bulk of the testing efforts. At the end of testing, a detailed report will be written presenting the data acquired from each test site, evaluating the potential value of historical/cultural sources recorded, and providing recommendations for preservation or mitigation of adverse impact, or, depending on the nature of the evidence, negative declarations of significance.

The location of all sites to be tested, and the intended method for each, are indicated on the Basement Maps. Although location of borings and trenches as shown is intended to be precise, conditions at the site, such as utility pipes or other obstructions, may cause slight relocation of testing spots.

*WB-1
1977 Aerial Survey*

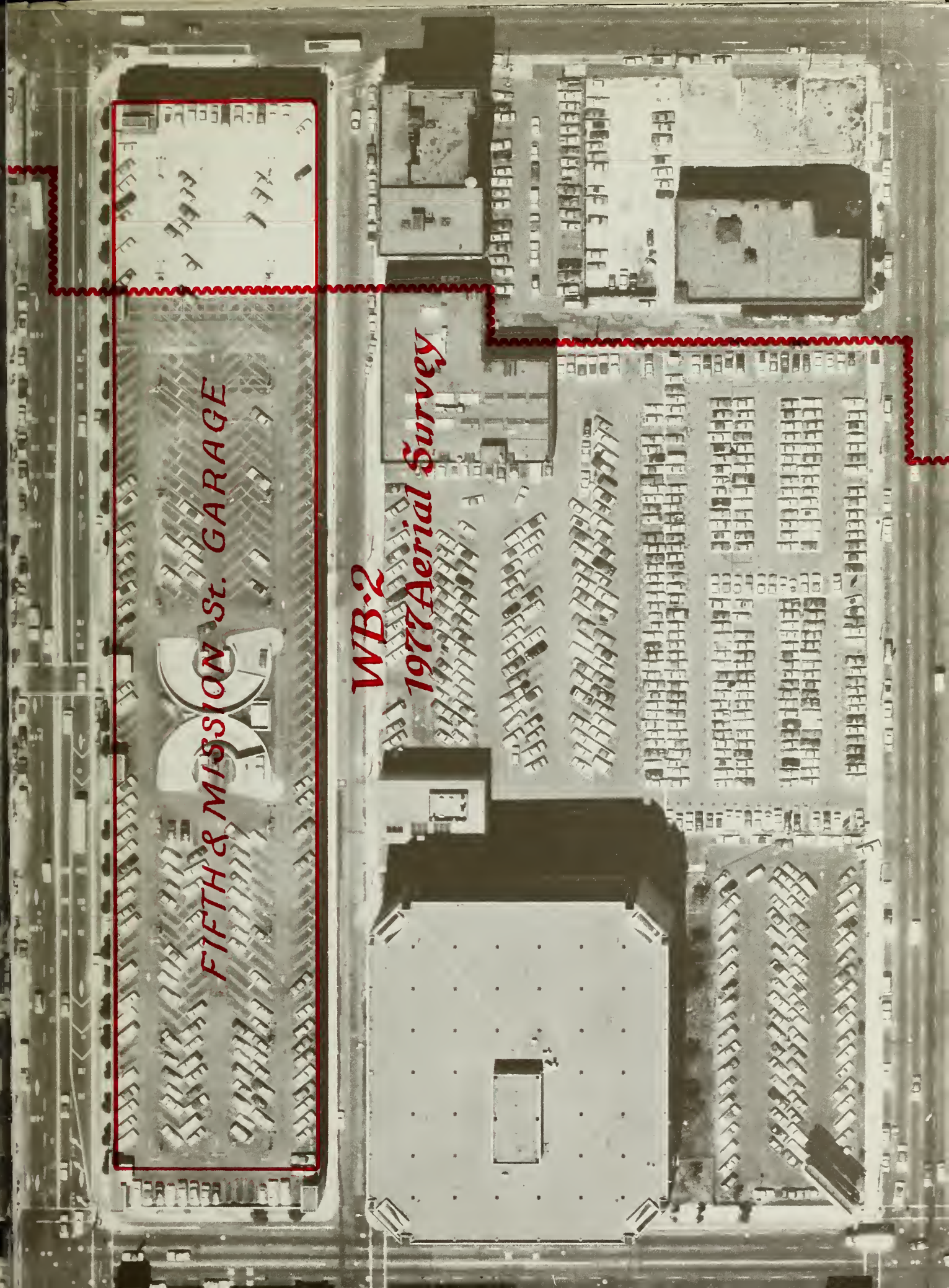
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(Revere House)*

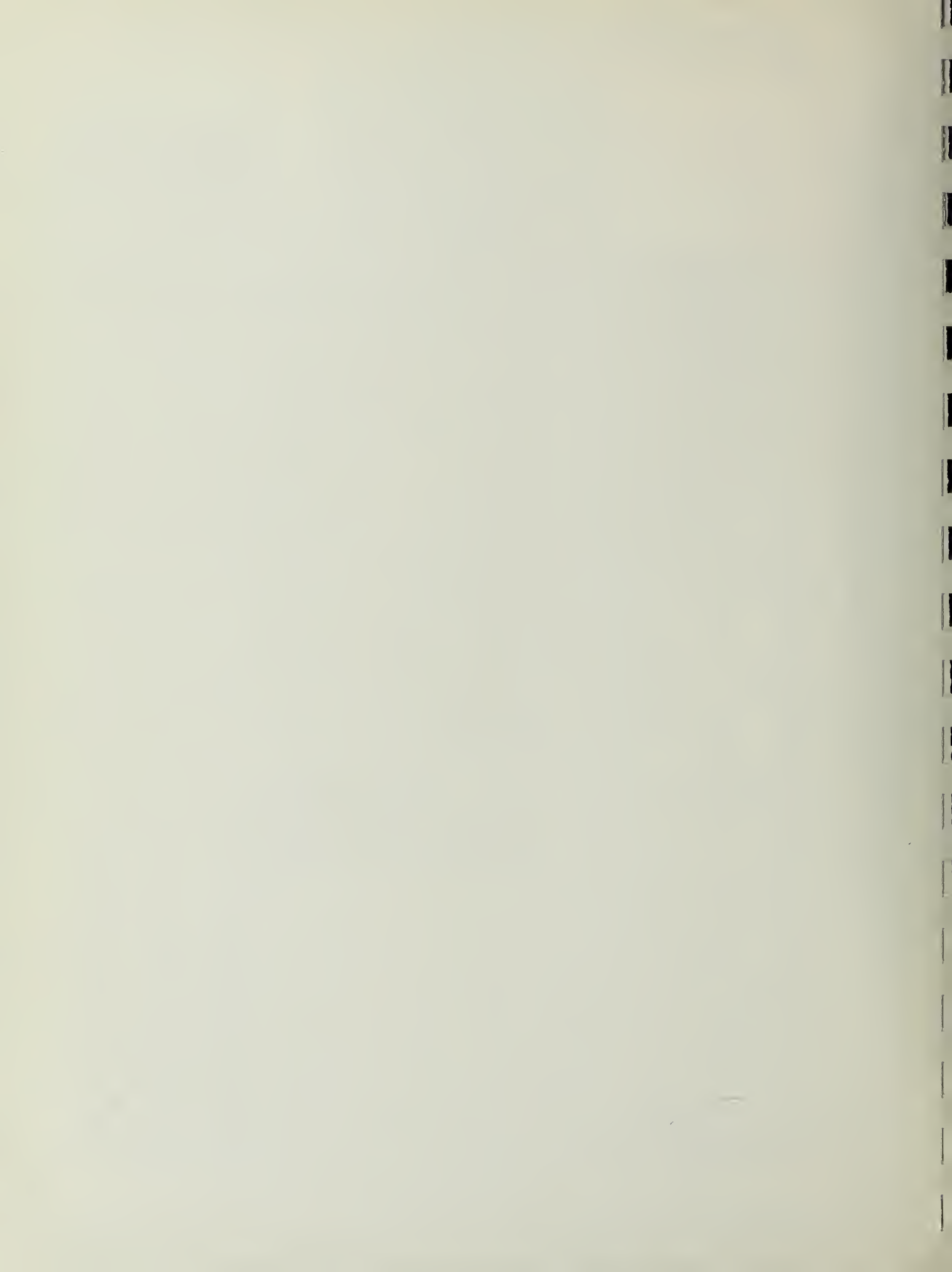




FIFTH & MISSION St. GARAGE

WB-2
1977 Aerial Survey

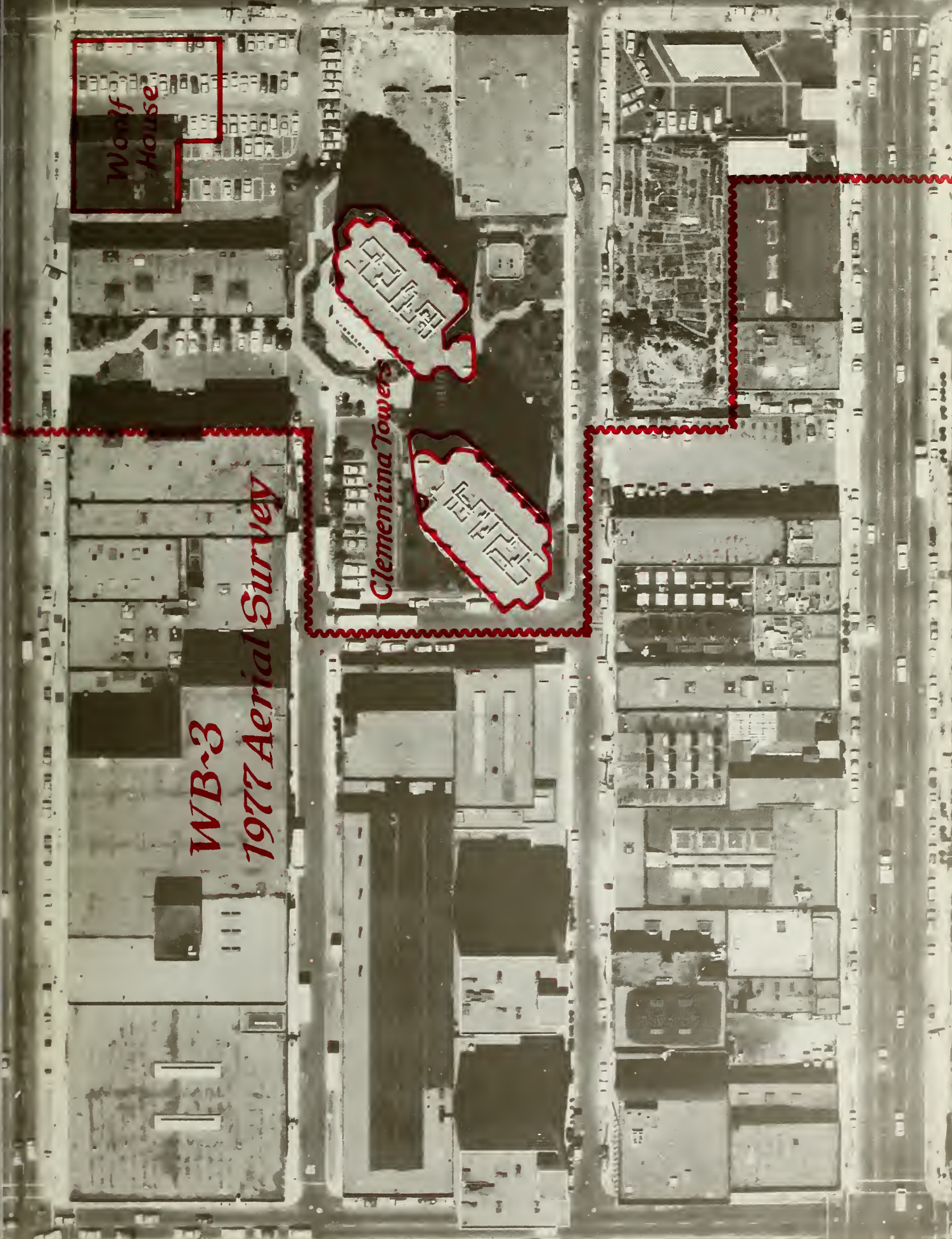


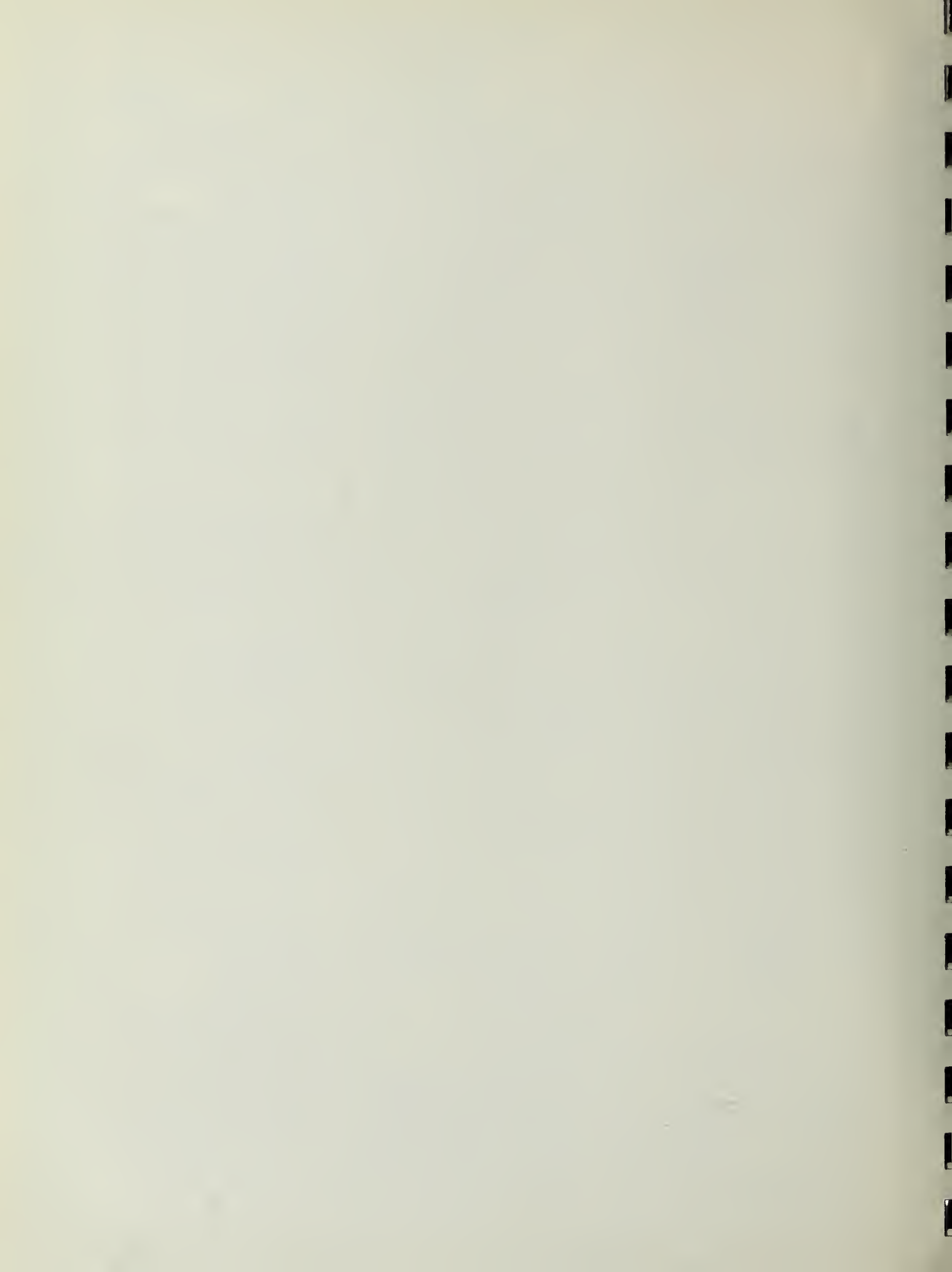


*WB-3
1977 Aerial Survey*

*Wolf
House*

Clementina Towers



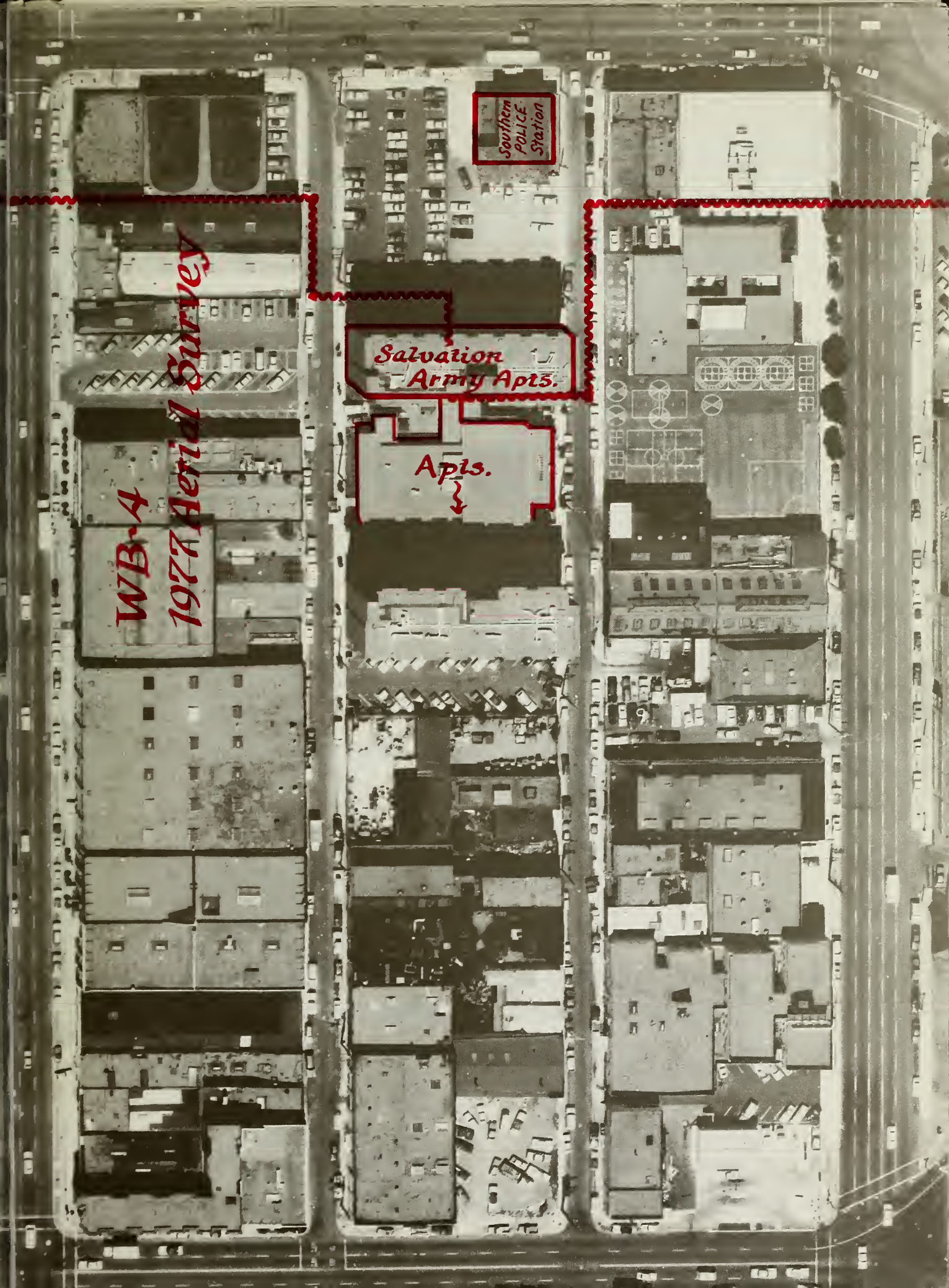


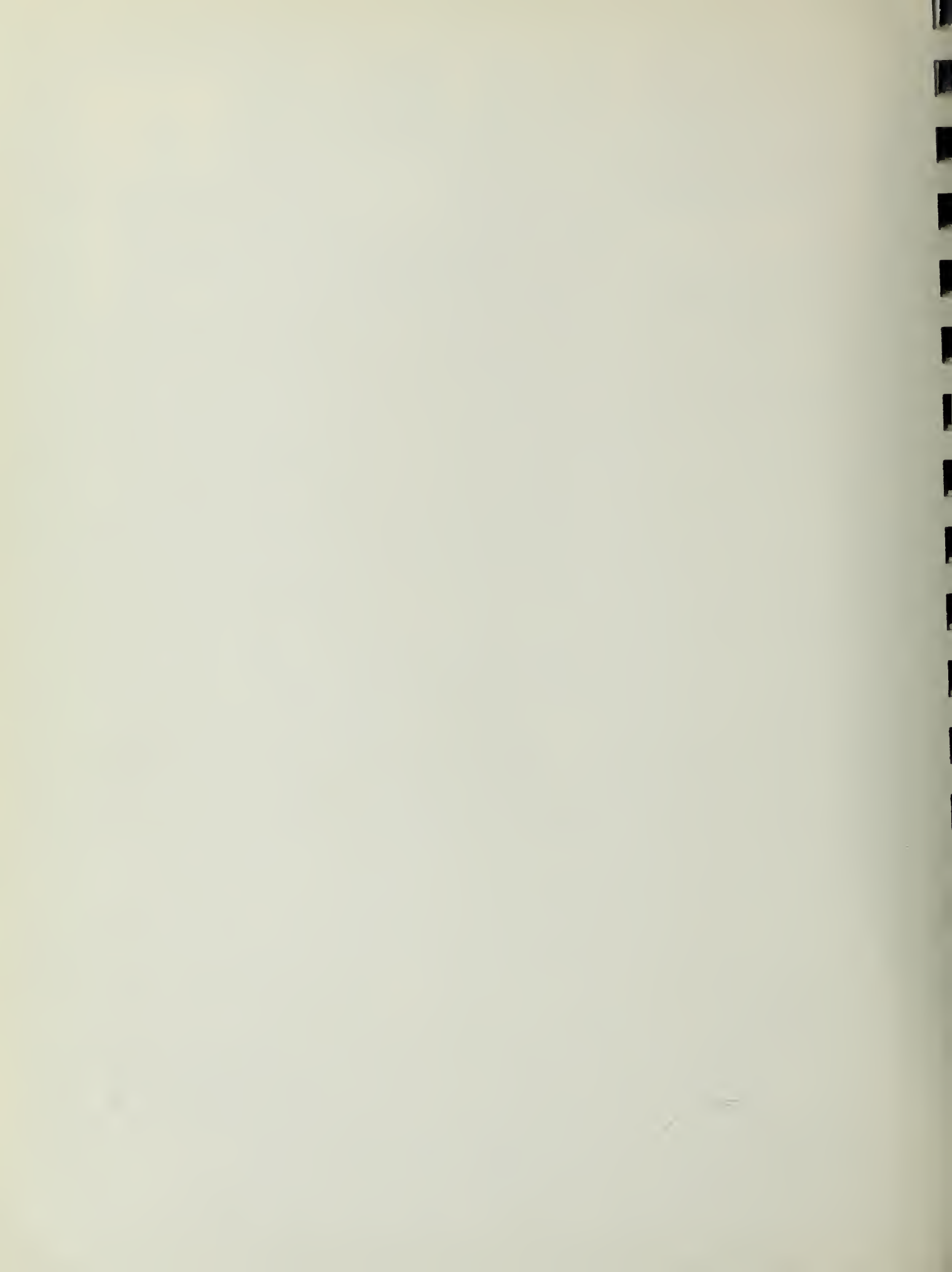
*WB-4
1977 Aerial Survey*

*Southern
Police
Station*

*Salvation
Army Apts.*

Apts.
↓





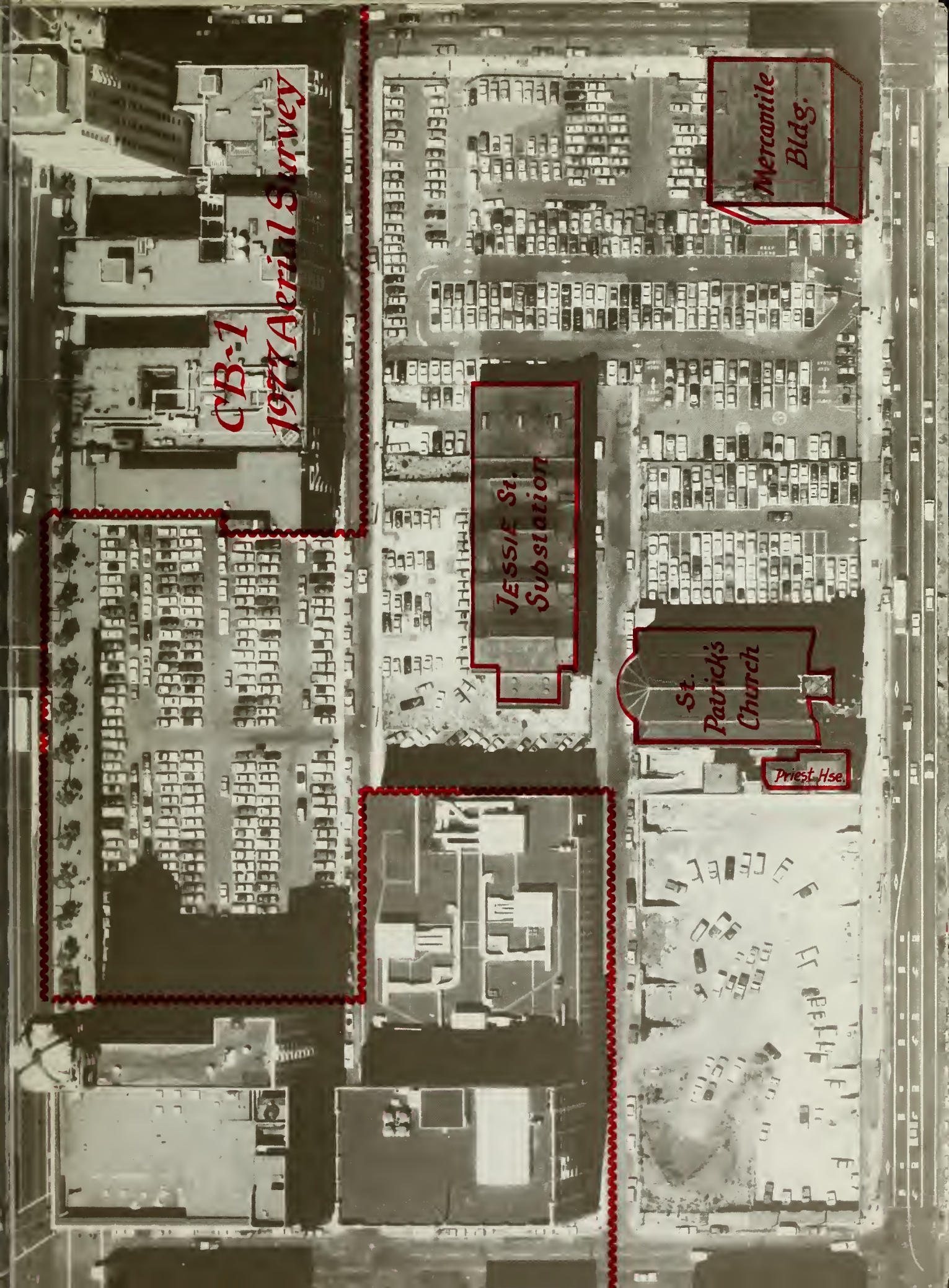
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1977 Aerial Survey*

*Mercantile
Bldg.*

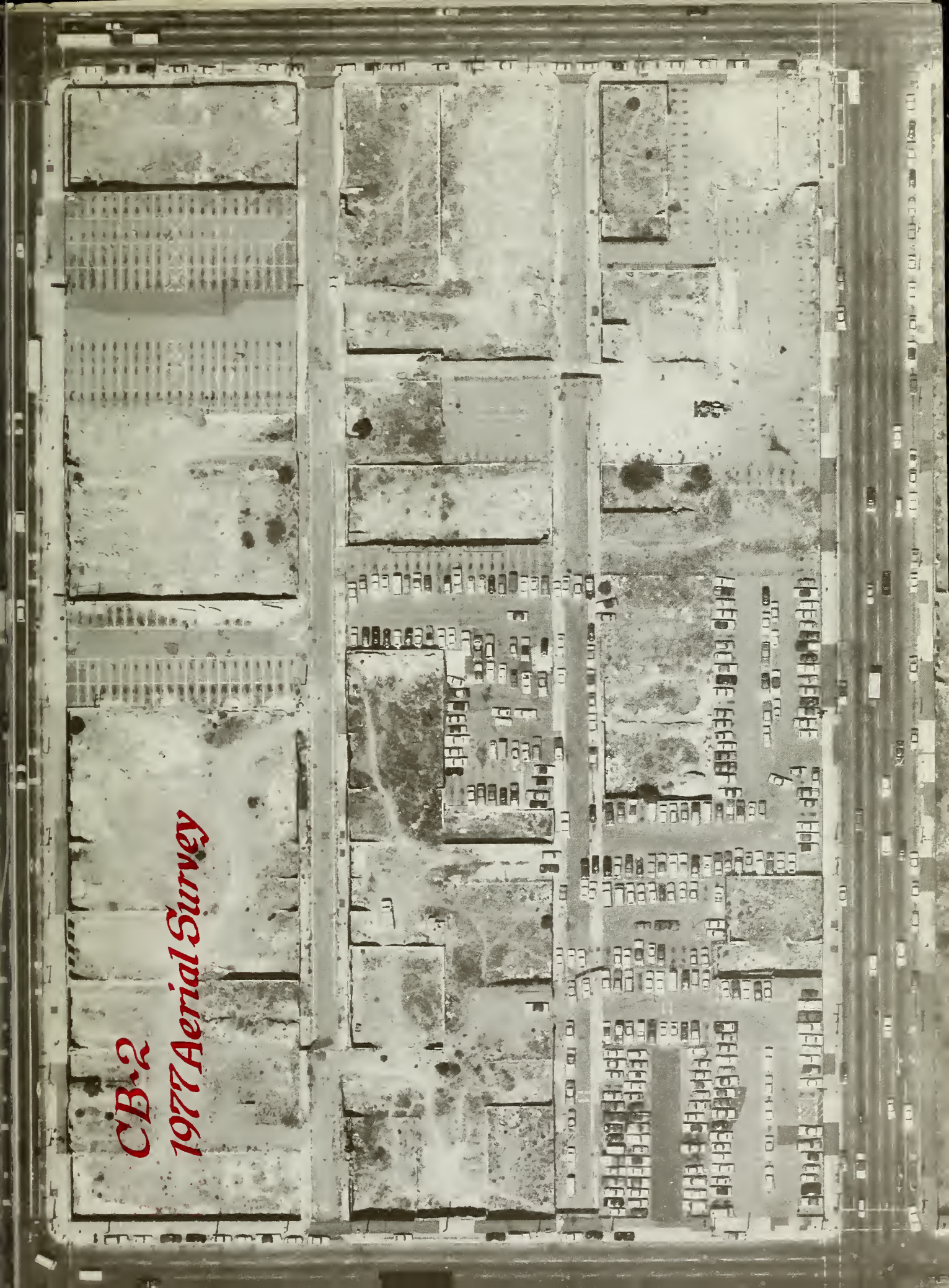
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Substation*

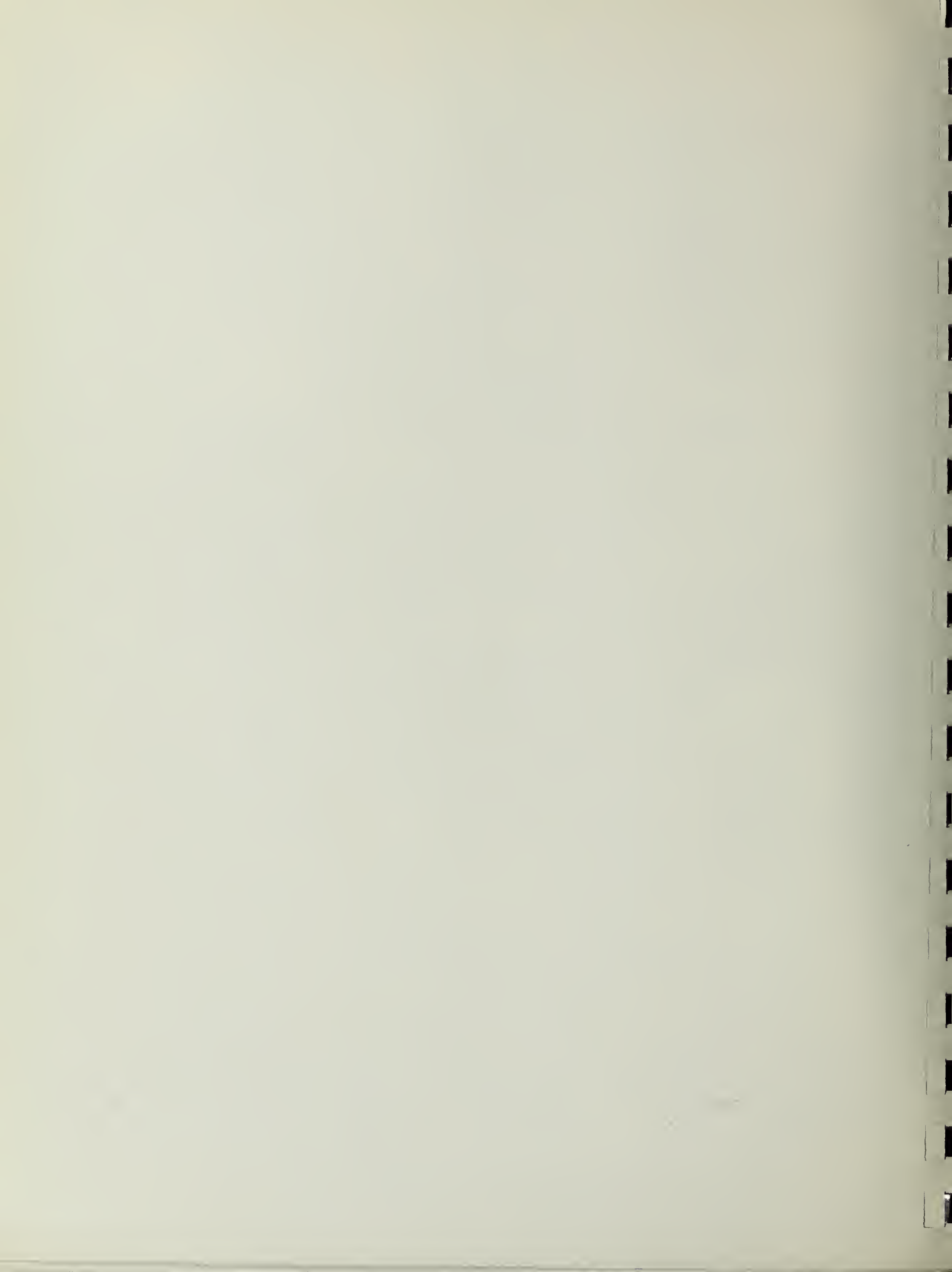
*St.
Patrick's
Church*

Priest Hse.



*CB.2
1977 Aerial Survey*

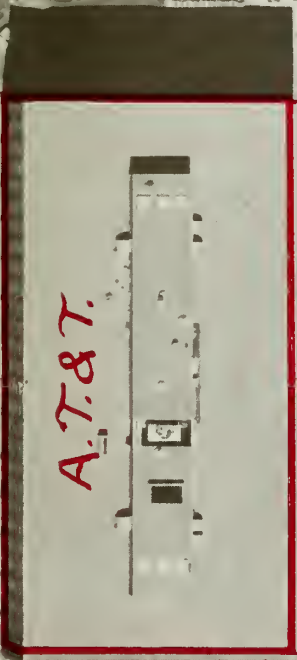




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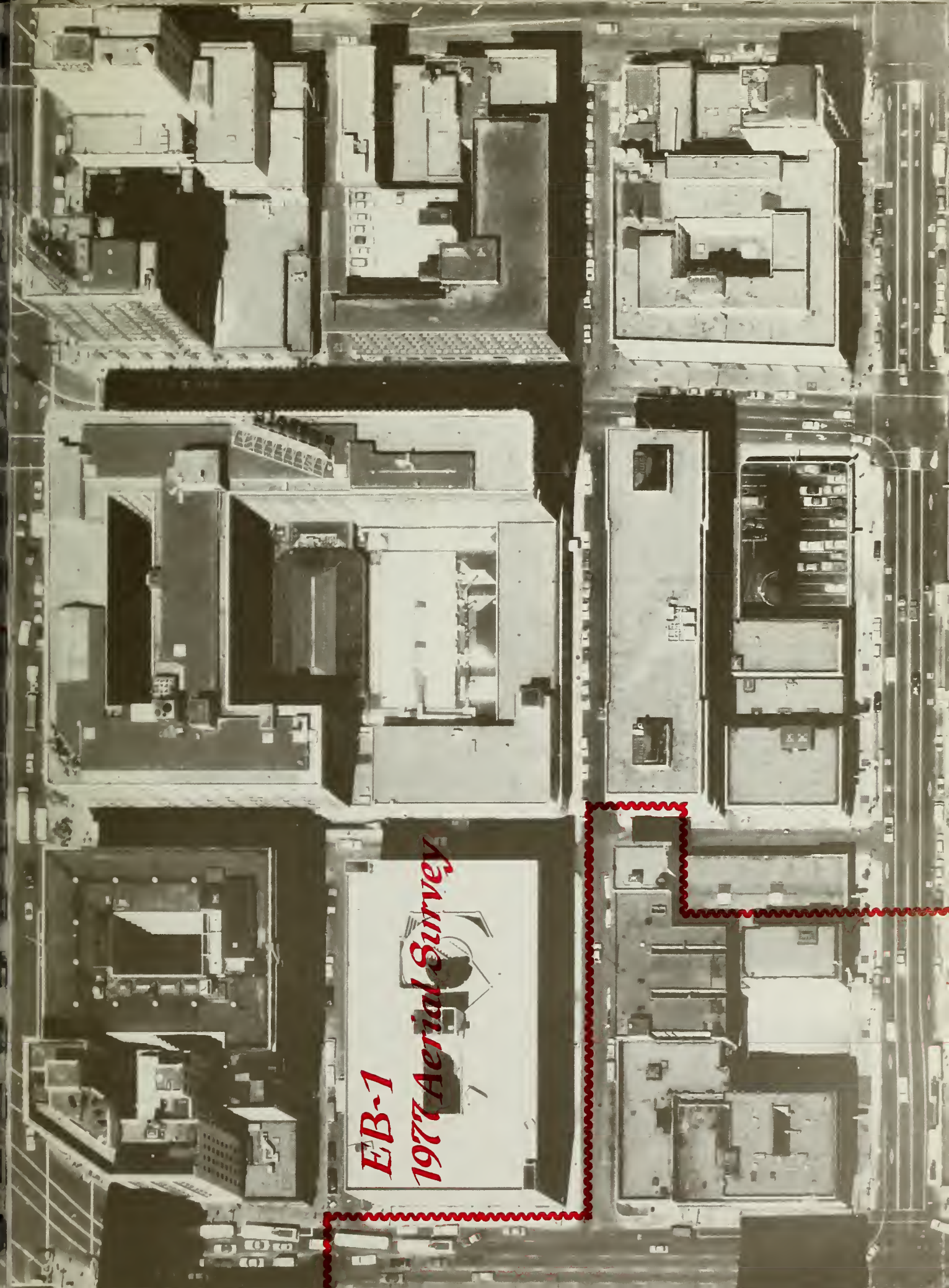
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Telephone*



A.T.&T.

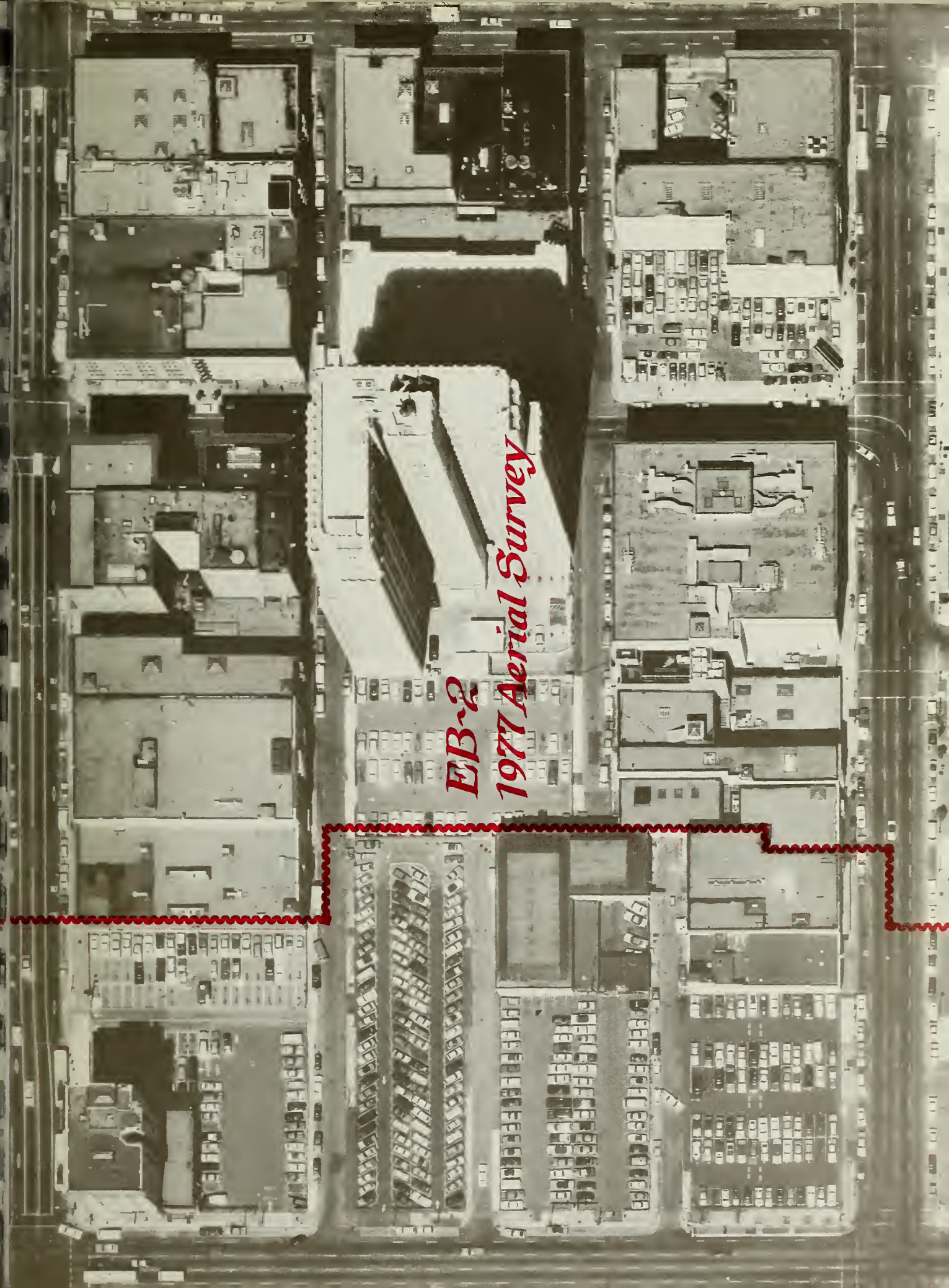


*Todco/Caballeros
Dimas-Alang House*



EB-1
1977 Aerial Survey

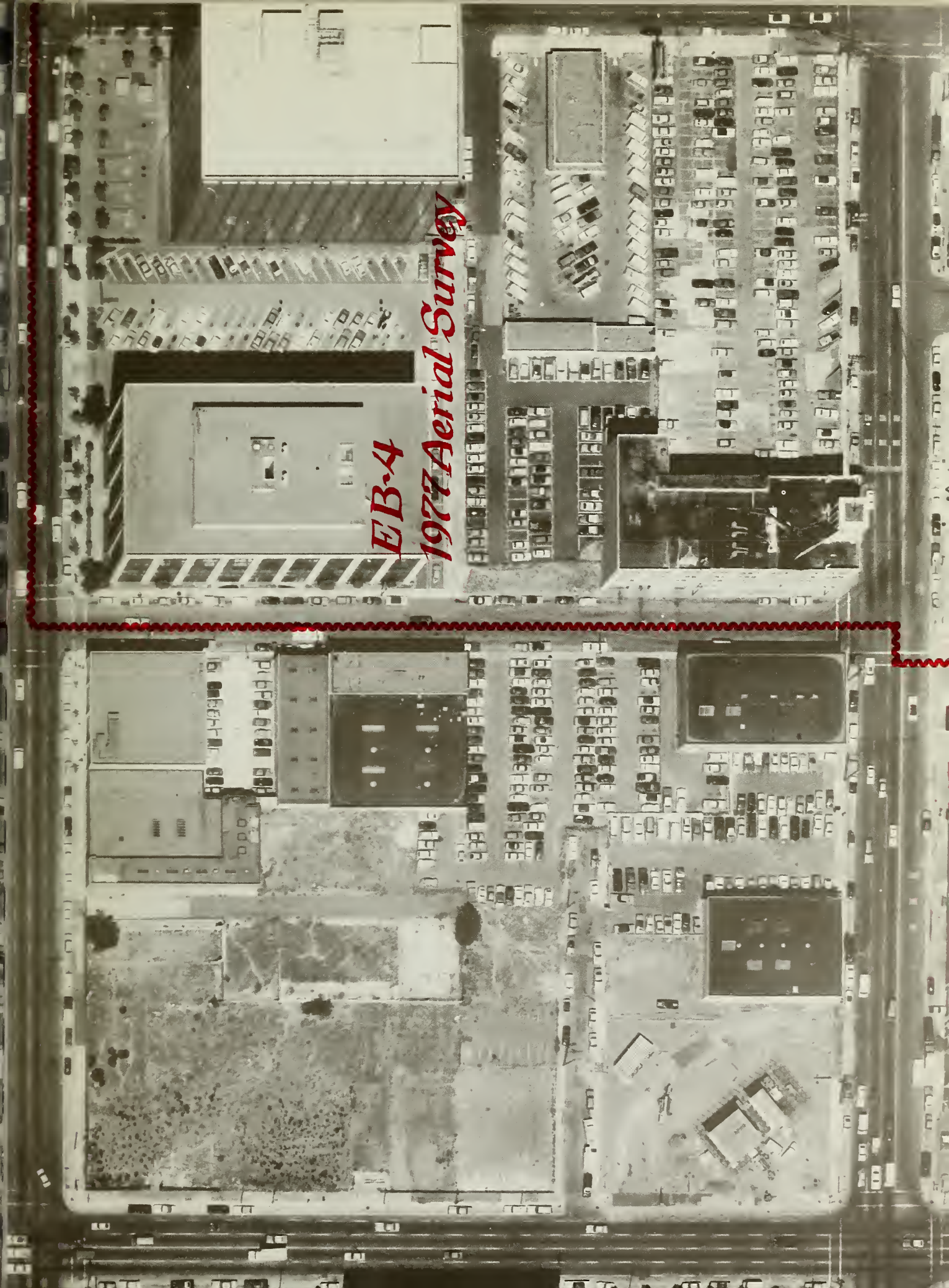


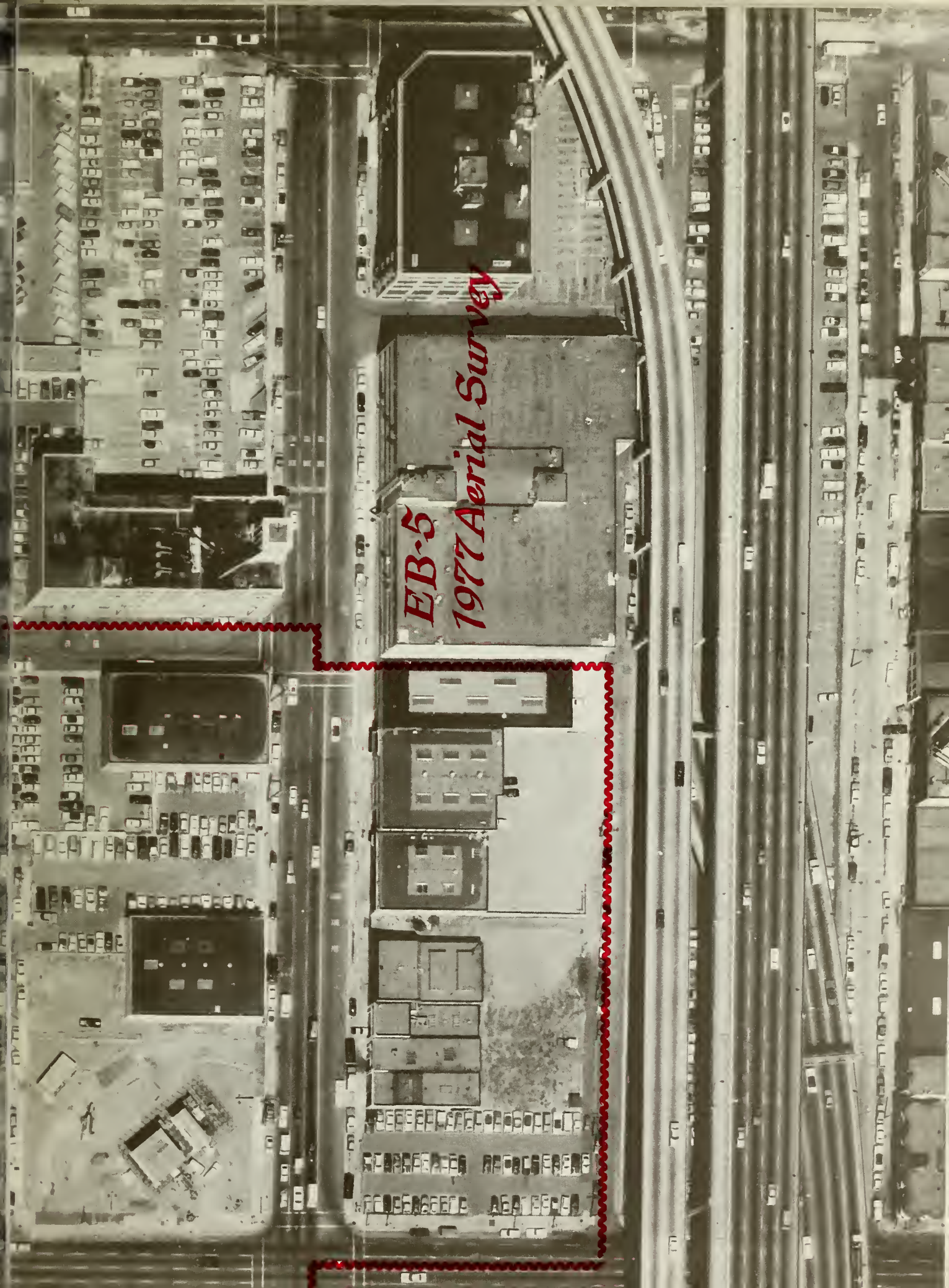


*EB-2
1977 Aerial Survey*



EB-4
1977 Aerial Survey





EB-5

1977 Aerial Survey

APPENDIX I

THE POPULATION OF THE YERBA BUENA CENTER IN 1860

The chart on the following pages represents all Yerba Buena respondents in the 1860 census who listed an occupation with the census enumerator. The total N=965, all lived within the Yerba Buena site. The occupations are those suggested by the Federal Census Bureau to the enumerators.

Chart prepared by Eve Livingston.

OCCUPATION	TOTAL N=965	BIRTH PLACE									
		Ireland (249)	Germany (191) and Prussia	Eastern Sea- board (350)	Midwest & other U.S. (15)	South (13)	England & Scotland (62)	France (22)	Canada (15)	Sweden Norway Denmark (9)	Other & Unknown (39)
Accountants (10)		1	1	5			2		1		
Attorneys (10)				8							2
Artists, Actors Musicians (4)				2							2
Brewers (25)			21	3					1		
Butchers (17)		5	3	6			2	1			
Brickmasons (9)		4		5							
Bakers (14)		3	5	2	1		2				1
Blacksmiths (26)		11	2	6			4			1	2
Boilermakers (11)		3		2		1	5				
Boot and Shoe Makers (9)			2	3			4				
Capitalists (6)			2	3			1				
Cabinetmakers (4)		3			1						
Carpenters & Contractors (61)		21	2	29		2	3		2		2
Carriage Makers (8)			1	7							
Coppers (5)			1	2							2
Cooks (6)		2		2				2			
Confectioners (4)			4								
Clerks (51)		2	6	34	1	3			1		4
Clothing Mchts. (4)			3	1							
Dressmakers (23)		15	2	4			1		1		
Drygoods (13)		2	8	2			1				
Teamsters and Draymen (39)		11	4	19		1	2				2
Engineers (8)		1		6	1						
Fruitdealers (8)		2	4	2							
Furniture Dealers (5)		2	1	1			1				
Gardners (8)		4	1	2			1				
Grocers (27)		2	21	2			1				1
Hairdressers (9)			4	3		1		1			
Hardware Mchts. (8)			1	5				1			1
Harness & Saddlery (4)			1	3							
Jewellers (8)			4					2			2
Launderers (12)		3		1			2	5			1

OCCUPATION	TOTAL N=965	BIRTH PLACE									
		Ireland (249)	Germany (191) and Prussia	Eastern Sea- board (350)	Midwest & other U.S. (15)	South (13)	England & Scotland (62)	France (22)	Canada (15)	Sweden Norway Denmark (9)	Other & Unknown (39)
Wholesale Liquor (9)			3	2				3	1		
Retail Liquor (8)		4	2	1					1		
Laborers (72)		47	13	5				3			4
Lumber Mchts (4)				4							
Moulders (8)		4		2				2			
Machinists (10)		1	1	4				1	1	1	1
Commission Merchants (9)			3	3				2			1
Merchants (24)		2	8	9	1			2	2		
Dairy (6)			1	4						1	
Milliners (7)		3	2	1							1
Miners (5)		1	1	1				1	1		
Mariners (14)		1	1	9	2	1					
Masters of Vessels (14)				9	2					3	
Nurses (6)		1		3		1		1			
Nurserymen (4)		1		1				1		1	
Expressmen and Omnibusmen (19)		3	2	8	4			1	1		
Produce Dealers (6)		3		2				1			
Painters (9)		6	1	1				1			
Physicians (6)				5	1						
Plasterers (4)		3	1								
Porters (6)		3	1	1				1			
Saloon Keepers (13)		3	5	2				3			
Servants (73)		40	12	7	3	1		8			2
Shipbuilders (13)		2		4				4		1	2
Stoves & Tinware (4)			1	1		1					1
Tailors (8)		1	4					2			1
Teachers (15)		1	1	10				1	1		1
Wheelwrights (4)		2		1	1						
Wood and Coal Dealers (5)		3	1	1							
Watermen (6)		2		4							

APPENDIX II

ST. ④		FOURTH		ST. ④		ST. ④	
75	75	25	25	80	80	75	75
80	80	25	25	80	80	80	80
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870	870						

APPENDIX III

1880 CENSUS DATA FORM

On the following page is a sample data sheet from the 1880 U.S. Census. This raw data is important to the demographic study of such areas as the Yerba Buena Center because the published compilations infrequently provide the breakdowns desired.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On a project as complex as the 87 acres of the Yerba Buena site has proved to be, the number of people who rise to the occasion with just the right photograph, just the precise date that has proved elusive, or ask just the right question that opens a new way of thinking, would make a list of human beings for every chapter in these three volumes that compromise the entire historical cultural survey of the Yerba Buena Project.

Not only have individuals been of great help, the organizations and institutions of San Francisco and its environs have cooperated in ways beyond ordinary help. From San Francisco's Public Library, Gladys Hansen in the Special Collections and Mrs. Edel Raith of the Reference Department have been constantly producing the needed books and clippings. At the Bancroft Library, the California Historical Society, the Society of California Pioneers, the Wells Fargo History Room, the National Archives at San Bruno, and the National Maritime Museum of San Francisco there have been enthusiastic, knowledgeable, and helpful people who have given freely of their knowledge of their archives.

The San Francisco Permit Office has graciously given us information regarding building construction that has made the archaeological testing program more effective through identification of prior excavations--at great savings to the citizens of this city. The San Francisco Water Department has, once again, made their rare pre- and post-1906 Sanborn Map collection available to us for study purposes, as has the City Planning Department, with its files on the 1912 Sanborns with their useful 1919 land use survey. The San Francisco Bureau of Engineering, through the gracious help of Earl Harmon, has made their extensive photographic collection available for this report--including the early collection of engineering archives.

Some special thanks must be given to the Kortum family for the use of William Kortum's letters of 1906, never before published. Combined with the fragments of Frank Roney's 1875 diary and "The Journal of A Transient," we feel a new dimension of understanding has been added to the South of Market poor (and not-so-poor) working people through a span that covered depressions and disasters from 1875 through 1935.

Our working researchers have included Alexander Pridmore, who made a special study of Gold Rush topography, of the Workingmen's Party, the Chinese in the Yerba Buena Center (and again, he has been assisted by Mr. Philip Choy of the San Francisco Landmarks Advisory Board), and the lesser and greater depression scenes in the Yerba Buena Center. John Kortum and Roger W. Olmsted did both the field and library work that helped to bring all the information together that was necessary on levels of construction impact to the site for John Beyer's further cartographic skills to produce the maps in this volume. Beyond this important prior study, John Kortum and Roger W. Olmsted assembled the raw data from the large 1880 Census, and isolated families in the census who lived throughout the site, choosing individuals and families for case studies that involved extensive directory research. They also wrote the sections that appear in Chapter XVIII describing the case histories they had studied, setting these individual family struggles into the larger context of the economics of the 1880's.

It was our intention to analyse the 1860 census of the Yerba Buena site as completely as time allowed, and Eve Livingston undertook the painstaking research through the 1859, 1860, and 1861 Langley City Directories to locate families, businesses, and institutions that related to the 1860 census and Coast Survey Map published in 1895 (based on survey information of 1857). Measurements were calculated from the Sanborn Maps to the early Coast Survey Map of long-standing structures; i.e., the Albany Brewery. Her analysis included statistical studies of the ethnic and occupational variables on the entire Yerba Buena population at that time.

Special thanks are due to Tom Conrad, Chief of Planning of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, who showed both keen interest and understanding in the necessarily complex process of historical research that went into this study. Mary Catherine Haug-Boone, of the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, proved to be an unflappable and understanding guide during this study, who supplied both intelligent answers and practical advice. The report was typed by Jill Rogers at Word Processing Specialists, Inc. in Ignacio and proofread by Cheryl Brandt. The final production of this volume is in the capable hands of Techni-Graphics, printers on Jessie Street, in the heart of the old South of Market.

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Overland Monthly
Post refers to the San Francisco Post
Wasp refers to the San Francisco Illustrated Wasp

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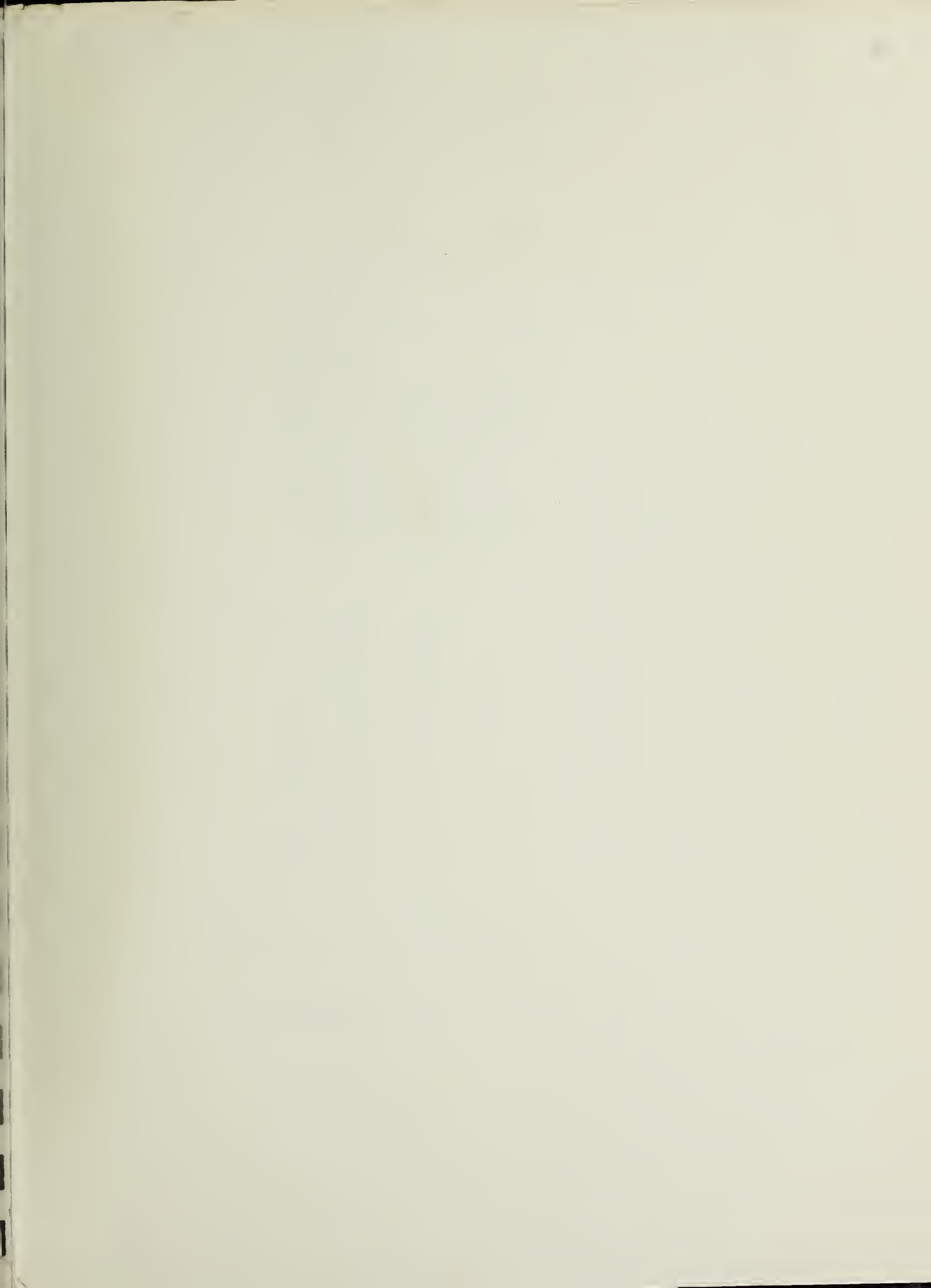
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ARCHIVAL STUDY

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Fourth Street in passing, ca. 1893.

San Francisco Redevelopment Agency